THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Society completes in May the TWENTY-FIRST YEAR of its existence. It has been resolved by the Committee to celebrate this event—(1) By issuing a short history of its proceedings and achievements from its first foundation; and (2) by holding a public meeting, at which it is hoped that those of its founders who survive and those Engineer officers and others who have worked for the Society will be present and will speak. Full notice will be given of this meeting, its place and date. All the subscribers to the Fund are invited to be present, and admission will be by ticket, which may be obtained of the Secretary by sending a letter or post-card.

We are enabled to publish this quarter a paper from Mr. Laurence Oliphant, in which he gives an account of some discoveries made by him during a recent journey to the north-east shores of the Lake of Galilee. Among other things, he has found the remains of two synagogues, one of them so far entire that its walls are standing to the height of nine feet. It does not appear from his brief account that the internal arrangements of this building have been ascertained. These it will be most desirable to examine at the earliest opportunity. A synagogue so perfect does not, needless to say, exist on the western side, though Sir Charles Wilson was able, in 1866, to make a plan of the White Synagogue at Tel Hum.

The results of Herr Schumacher's recent work have not yet reached us: we are, however, happy to state that the German Society has consented to exchange the piece of map work executed for them by Herr Schumacher for that done by the same surveyor for ourselves. This will be added to our maps. The applications for his book "Across the Jordan" have been very numerous. In answer to a great many inquiries, it is well to state that the drawings are all original, and were all made by Herr Schumacher himself for the work, and have never been before published. The plan and description of the subterranean city of Derâ will be entirely new to most readers. Sir Charles Wilson, however, sent to the *Athenæum* three years ago an account of some subterranean cities met with

by him in Anatolia on a much larger scale. The plan of Ed D'rah is as yet incomplete, and there may be important additions to make, while with the aid of a magnesium lamp and other instruments it may be possible to obtain some formation upon the date of its construction and its history.

Professor Hayter Lewis started for a second journey to Palestine on Thursday, the 25th ult., intending to make a further examination into the Dome of the Rock. Professor Dr. Post, of Beyrout, is about to pay a botanic and archæological visit to Damascus and the Hauran, and has promised a paper on the results of his journey and any general information which he can gather, to the Society. Dr. Chaplin has resigned his office at Jerusalem, and will not go out again. The Society lose in him a steady friend and representative, but they hope that his vast knowledge of modern Palestine may be in some way utilised at home. Sir Charles Warren returns to London to take up a most serious and responsible office. Mr. Laurence Oliphant returns next month to England.

Professor Hull's Geological Memoir is now ready. It is issued as a supplementary volume to the "Survey of Western Palestine," uniform in size, though not so thick a volume; its price, to subscribers only, is 12*s.* 6*d.* It is fully illustrated by geological maps and sections.

Captain Conder is writing another book for the Committee, on the condition of Palestine and its inhabitants in various ages, from the earliest times to the end of the Crusading period, founded mainly on the monumental evidence. He intends to show in that work what we should have known if the country and the people of the Hebrew literature had entirely perished. It will be published in the autumn.

Captain Conder has also written a reply to a recent article by Professor Socin in which a few remarks were made in this Journal of October last. The article investigates certain strictures which the Professor thought proper to pass upon the Survey of Western Palestine, and will be found fully to corroborate the short reply made to Professor Socin in the *Quarterly Statement* of October last. It is promised for the *Expositor* of May.

Mr. Guy le Strange is compiling for the Committee a Gazetteer of Palestine from the early Arabic geographers. He expects to have this ready by the end of the year.

The Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society has issued its "Procopius," long promised. It is not published for the general public, but sent out to subscribers only. The Council's Report for the year 1885 can be had on application.

The following is the Balance Sheet, with the Treasurer's Statement, for the year 1885 :—

BALANCE SHEET, 1885.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
January 1, 1885—				December 31, 1885—			
Balance	249	3	2	By Exploration Maps and Memoirs ..	1,560	15	11
December 31, 1885—				Books	288	6	4
By Subscriptions and Donations ..	1,389	17	6	Printers	400	0	0
Maps and Memoirs	464	6	1	Salaries, Rent, Office and Stationery ..	486	7	4
Books	135	11	4	Advertising ..	12	15	0
Legacy	900	0	0	Lecture expenses ..	17	4	6
Photographs ..	14	5	7	Postage and Parcels	56	13	6
				Balance	331	1	1
	£3,153	3	8		£3,153	3	8

Examined and found correct.

Walter Morrison,
Hon. Treasurer.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

The proportion of expenditure is as follows, the items of "Exploration" and "Maps and Memoirs" being thrown together as necessarily connected :—

Exploration, Maps and Memoirs	·61
Printers	·16
Office and managment	·23

At the beginning of the year the liabilities were—

(1) On Maps and Memoirs..	£1,572
(2) Printers	£400

The liabilities are now (March 26th) on the former account £1,112, of which the sum of £850 is a loan, the repayment of which is not immediately pressing, though it would be desirable. On the second account the present liability is £300.

The assets of the Society consist of—(1) Its large and important collections at South Kensington and its office in Adam Street. It is, of course, impossible to value this unique museum. (2) Its books, consisting of the unsubscribed copies of the "Survey of Western Palestine," with the new Geological Memoirs, which are alone sufficient to cover all the liabilities; almost complete new editions of "Tent Work" and "Heth and Moab;" "Across the Jordan;" and "Mount Seir." (3) The collection of survey instruments, valued at several hundreds of pounds. (4) The valuable maps, five in number. (5) The Library, rapidly growing, the furniture, &c. (6) The unpublished MSS., namely, Conder's Eastern Survey, Ganneau's drawings, Hart's Naturalist's Memoirs, and Schumacher's new Survey not yet received. Subscribers will please to remember that exploration does not stop short at the collection of facts, but includes their publication. If, therefore, money is required for publication of results, thus also is Exploration.

The Committee conducting the Inquiry have sent to press a large number of Questions, and hope to have begun their labours before the next number of this

Journal appears. Meantime, any suggestions that may be made will be gratefully accepted.

As regards the copies which remain of the "Survey of Western Palestine," the friends of the Society are urged to get them placed in public libraries. The work will not be reprinted, and will never be sold by the Committee at a lower price; and as it becomes known for the *only* scientific account of Western Palestine, it will certainly acquire a yearly increasing value. Five hundred were printed, and the type is now distributed.

The income of the Society, from December 12th, 1885, to March 17th, 1886, inclusive, was—from subscriptions and donations, £816 2*s*. 11*d*.; from all sources, £994 8*s*. 5*d*. The expenditure during the same period was £930. On March 18th the balance in the Banks was £303.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

The only authorised lecturers for the Society are—

(1) The Rev. Henry Geary, Vicar of St. Thomas's, Portman Square. His lectures are on the following subjects:—

The Survey of Western Palestine, as illustrating Bible History.
Palestine East of the Jordan.
The Jerusalem Excavations.
A Restoration of Ancient Jerusalem. Illustrated by original photographs shown as "dissolving views."

(2) The Rev. James King, Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick. His subjects are as follows:—

The Survey of Western Palestine.
Jerusalem.
The Hittites.
The Moabite Stone and other monuments.

(3) The Rev. James Neil, formerly Incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem.

(4) The Rev. George St. Clair, Bristol Road, Birmingham, has resumed his Lectures for the Society.

THE LATE MR. JAMES FERGUSSON.

In the death of Mr. James Fergusson the Society has to lament the loss of one who was not only largely instrumental in its foundation, and has been upon the Committee since its foundation, but was the first writer in this country who seriously questioned the genuineness of the sacred sites. His first book on Jerusalem appeared in the year 1847, while his latest, which strictly maintained the same views with some slight modifications, was published only a few years ago. It will be remembered that he advocated the south-west corner of the Haram Acra for his site of the Temple, and maintained that the Dome of the Rock, so far from being an erection by Byzantine architects at the order of Abdel Melek in the seventh century, was really no other than the church supposed by himself to have been built at the order of the Emperor Constantine over the site of the Holy Sepulchre. He advocated these views in Smith's "Bible Dictionary" in the year 1865, and at one time he had a large following of those who believed in his arguments. At the same time there has always been a respectable section of scholars whom he could not convince, and, on the whole, it may be said that the literature of the subject has of late years leaned decidedly more towards some modification of the traditional view than the adoption of Fergusson's opinions. The extension of his views has also been greatly checked by the fact that Sir Charles Warren first, and Captain Conder afterwards, openly joined the opposite camp. Among the more important works which came from his active and untiring brain were an "An Inquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art," and his "History of Architecture." For a short time he held a post under Government in the office of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings. He died, at the age of 78, at his residence in Langham Place.

Captain Conder writes—

"Will you allow me to say with what regret I notice the death of a valuable original member of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Mr. J. Fergusson? His great work on architecture was my mainstay in studying the antiquities of Palestine, and in reading it again just at the time I heard of his death I found my admiration of it greater than ever. Although in particular points Mr. Fergusson's views may have been superseded by the results of further discovery, we should be guilty of great ingratitude if we forgot that he was among the first to lay the basis of a scientific study of architectural antiquity. He was to this important subject what Dr. Birch was to the study of Egyptian antiquity, and it is on the shoulders of such men that the present generation of archæologists stands.

"On the few occasions when I had the honour of meeting Mr. Fergusson, I have had to thank him for his cordial encouragement and indulgence. He first looked over in 1874 my architectural sketches now published in the Memoirs, and gave me an opinion on the dates of various buildings which I had discovered, which was most valuable to me in the classification of the ruins I found later. I have read all he ever wrote about Palestine, and have learned much therefrom.

"*Chatham, 14th January*, 1886."

ON SOME NEWLY FOUND INSCRIPTIONS.

I.

I AM afraid that anything I have to say about the inscriptions, of which you were good enough to send me copies at the moment of my departure from England, will have become unnecessary long before you receive this letter. I had no time to write to you before leaving Cairo, and on board a dahabiah one is beyond the reach of the post.

No. 1 reads Μαρ̣ούλη Χρηστὴ Χαίρε, ζήσασα ἔτη ξ, "Farewell, good Marroulê, aged 7 years." Χρῆστος is a common epithet in early Christian epitaphs, owing to the similarity of the word to Χριστός.

No. 2. Ἰηω[ν?]α Χρῆστε Χέρε, "Farewell, good Jonas (?)." The reading of the proper name is uncertain.

No. 3. Κλαύδιε Σαβεινίανε Χρῆστε [κα]ὶ ἄλυπε Χαίρε, "Farewell, good and harmless Claudius Sabinianus."

No. 4. Κασσία Πρισκιλλα Χρήστη καὶ ἄλυπε, "(Farewell), good and harmless Cassia Priscilla." Ἄλυπε, "unsuffering one," is an adjective of two terminations; hence the masculine form of the vocative.

The potter's stamp shows that the maker's name was Paramonos.

The Phœnician inscription is a forgery. The Phœnician letters in it belong to different epochs, and are mixed with Greek characters, as well as with wholly imaginary ones.

The inscription on the gem seems to be Gnostic, and may be read ω Ὄραρε.

I have unfortunately mislaid the Egyptian text, and owing to the want of books of reference can make no annotations on the names mentioned in the Greek inscriptions.

Syût, 4th January, 1886. A. H. SAYCE.

II.

I WISH to emphasise a remark which I made in my last report, and which appears on the top of p. 24, January *Statement*, namely, that I did not attempt to represent any of the older ruins found in excavating the place marked "open field." The field is now quite enclosed by the fine and substantial walls of the first story of the large building which is designed to occupy that ground. The work on this building has ceased during the rainy season.

A number of relics of the Tenth Legion were found deeply buried under the accumulations here, and I present herewith a description of one of the most interesting of these. The column was found 10 or more feet below the surface of the ground, and about 7 yards directly west of the northern end of the red line which in the plan is shown opposite Fruteger's bank.

M·IVNIO·
MAXIMO·
LEG·AVGG·
LEG·X·FR·
C·DOM·SERG·
IVL·HONORATVS·
STR[illegible]EIV

This inscription was found on a marble column about 15 feet below the surface of the ground. The column was lying among *débris*, and the dimensions are as follows: length 40 inches, diameter 21 inches, length of space occupied by inscription 26 inches; inscription in seven lines, length of ordinary lines 16 inches, length of longest line 25 inches.

I wish to add that I have measured again the ground beneath which, during last summer, the second wall was exposed, and find that the portion exposed was 120 feet in length; about 30 yards only had been uncovered when I made my last report.

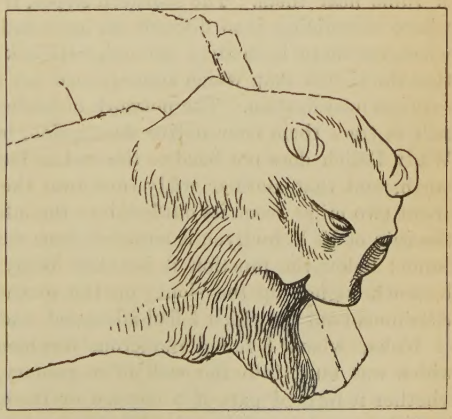
Jerusalem, January, 1886. SELAH MERRILL, D.D., LL.D.

NEW DISCOVERIES.

By LAURENCE OLIPHANT.

As upon the occasion of my last visit a year ago to the north-eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee I had heard of certain ruins which I was then prevented from visiting, I determined to take advantage of the month of December, which, on account of the absence of vegetation at that season, is the best time for investigation, to return to that district. On arriving at Mohammed Said Pasha's Hasil at El 'Arâj, on the north shore of the lake east of the mouth of the Jordan, I was so fortunate as to find his Vakeel, who informed me that the natives had been getting out more stone at El Hasanîyeh, and had found two on which were carved the figures of lions.

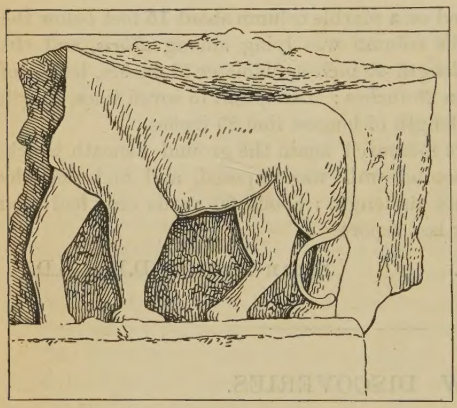
FIG I



I accordingly proceeded thither, and perceived the aspect of the ruins some-

what changed by recent excavation since my last visit, and that with the stones which had been excavated the people had been constructing granaries. They had built into a wall one of the stones on which was carved the figure of a lion, the head alone being visible (Fig. 1). The other stone had not been used for building purposes, but the head of the lion had unfortunately been broken off (Fig. 2). From El Hasanîyeh I proceeded for a mile and a half up the Wâdy es Saffah to a ruin called Dardara, but found nothing beyond rough basalt blocks, and traces of foundations. I now determined to explore the Wâdy Jeramaya, a wild ravine which has never been examined. This is so thickly strewn with huge basalt blocks that the bed of the wâdy, through which rushes a small torrent, even at this season of the year was impracticable on horseback; the goat-paths, which skirted the precipitous flanks of the gorge, were not much better; and along these I forced my way for four miles, to a point where the wâdy bifurcates, the northern branch being called the Wâdy Bazouk. I passed only one small unimportant ruin called Zeta, with blocks of basalt and foundations; near a spring were two or three date palms, but no traces of ruins near them. The southern slopes, if slopes they could be called, where scrambling is so difficult for man and beast, are sparsely clothed, whenever there is holding ground, with oak and doum bushes. I found that the sketch map which accompanied my former paper on this district requires modification. The network of wâdies is so intricate that it is not easy to trace them from native description, but I now discovered that the Wâdy Dâlieh does not bend to the east as indicated in the map, but runs north, and that another wâdy runs into the Wâdy Jeramaya, joining it about two miles from its outflow into the lake; it is upon this wâdy that the ruin of El Yehudîyeh is situated, from which the wâdy itself takes its name: below the junction it is called Wâdy es Sennam. On my return I struck higher up the slopes on the southern side, partly to avoid the villainous road by which I had advanced, and partly to visit a ruin called el Koka, where I found numerous fragments of columns, and a block which was built into the wall of a granary, so that I could not decide whether it formed part of a cornice or frieze, but upon which there was carved a very beautiful scroll of flowers and foliage; in the neighbourhood of the ruin was a spring 10 feet long and 4 feet wide, which had been

FIG 2.



masoned with large square blocks of basalt (Fig. 3), those in rear of the spring alone remained in position, and were each 5 feet long; el Koka was evidently a place of some importance.

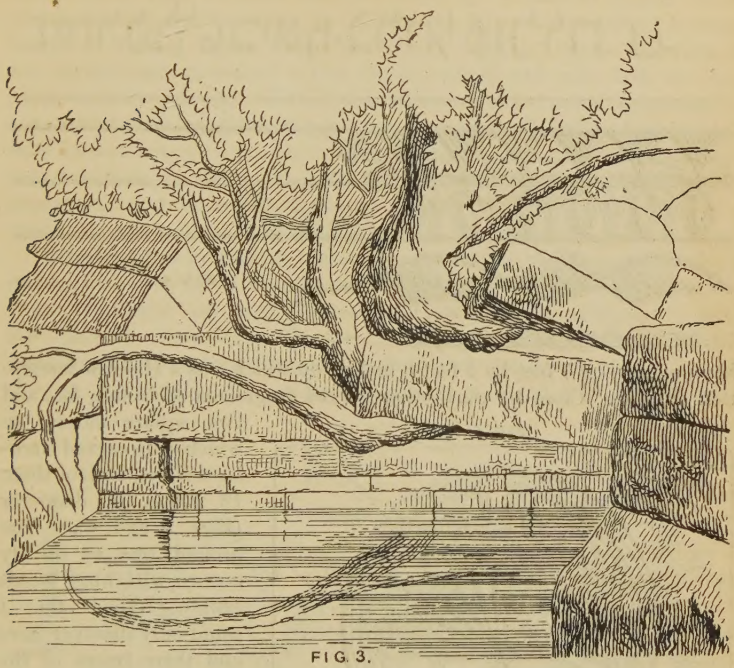


FIG. 3.

On the high bluff which separates the Wâdy Shebib from the Wâdy Shukeiyif, and two miles and a half east of El Akib (see map, *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1885, p. 82), are situated the ruins of Kanef. Hearing from the Vakeel that I should find important remains there, I rode up to examine them, under the guidance of a Bedouin sheikh. Kanef is situated about 1,300 feet above the level of the lake, and the latter part of the ascent is somewhat steep. The whole of this region belongs to Mohammed Said Pasha, who has a hasil, or granary, here; but the only inhabitants are some Diab Arabs, who are his tenants, and whose tents were pitched not far from the Khurbet. This consisted of a considerable area of ruin, and numerous fragments of columns were scattered about; a row of five, some standing to a height of 7 feet, supported the roof of a cow-shed, but of these only one was a monolith, the others consisted of fragments which had been placed one upon another, and I could not trace on the spot the foundation of the building of which they may have formed part. They probably belonged to the ruin which I immediately afterwards discovered on the other side of

the hasil, about 50 yards distant, and which unquestionably was that of a synagogue, as will appear from a fragment of a cornice which I found

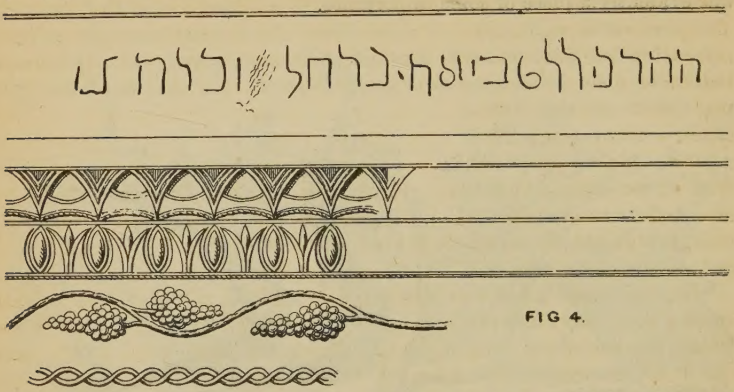


FIG 4.

here, measuring 7 feet by 2 feet 8 inches, on which was a Hebrew inscription (Fig. 4). Close by were other carved fragments, pedestals, &c., and two square stones, on which were carved circular devices, both of them 18 inches in diameter (Figs. 5 and 6). The ground was so thickly strewn with huge basalt building stones that I could only discover here and there traces of the foundations, and was unable to measure the dimensions of the building. About two hundred yards from the ruin was a spring, which had also been masoned like the one at el Koka, but which was not in such a good state of preservation.

FIG 5.

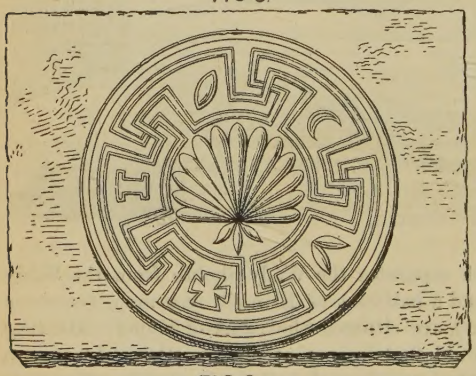
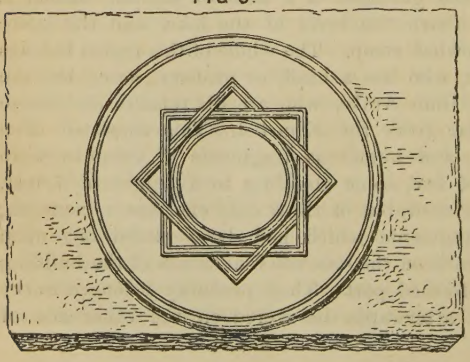


FIG 6.

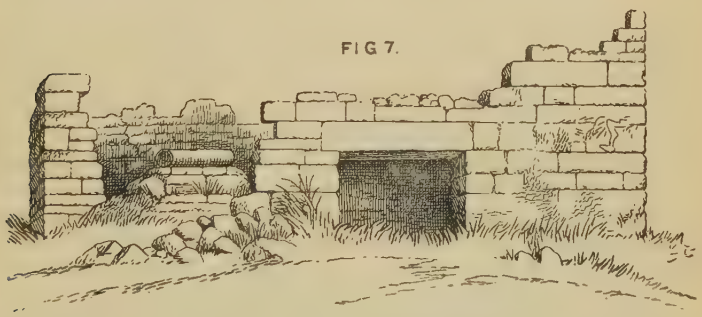


My guide now offered to conduct me to another Khurbet, and I followed him due east along the high plateau for a distance of nearly two miles, when we reached the

Khurbet of Dar Aziz. Here I found a large encampment of Arabs, their tents huddled amid the flat-roofed granaries in which they store their crops, and which were constructed as usual from the stones of the Khurbet. These ruins were enclosed on two sides by a massive ancient wall, measuring 140 feet one way by 90 feet the other, and with an average height of 6 feet. Many of the beautifully squared blocks of which it was constructed measured 6 feet by 18 inches, and were laid on each other without cement. Within this enclosure were many fragments of columns and traces of foundations, besides two small arches, 10 feet high with 13 feet span; but these, I think, were of a later date than the wall: one of them supported the roof of a granary; the other, connected with it, though enclosed by walls, supported nothing. I also found a piece of a cornice with moulding of the unornamented Jewish type.

But the most interesting discovery was that of the synagogue. This stood a little way down the slope of the hill, on the northern flank of the Wâdy Shukeiyif (see map, *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1885, p. 82), near the head of which this Khurbet is situated. The walls were still standing in places to a height of 9 feet, and the whole character was clearly defined (Fig. 7). The dimensions were 60 feet by 37 feet;

FIG 7.



the diameter of the columns, of which none were standing *in situ*, 2 feet. The lintel over the door, 6 feet by 18 inches; width of door, 4 feet 6 inches. It was oriented, and the entrance was in the eastern wall. I searched in vain for cornices or carving of any sort. The whole architecture was of the plainest and simplest description, but the interior was so thickly strewn with masses of building stone that some of the more ornamental features may have been concealed.

I also found in the neighbourhood a circular basin hewn out of a solid block of basalt 5 feet in diameter, and with a depression of 4 inches. In the centre of it was a broken shaft of a column a foot high, and the same in diameter, in the centre of which was a hole 2 inches square. The spring was of the same character as that which I have almost invariably found in the neighbourhood of the ruins of this district. It was contained in a basin 15 feet by 6 feet, and had a depth of 8 or 10 inches. The masonry of large basalt blocks on three sides was in a perfect state of preservation

to a height of 6 feet from the water. I now descended into the Wâdy Shukeiyif to a small ruin called Subbahiyeh, where there was nothing but a few fragments of columns. Below this, nearer the mouth of the wâdy, is the Khurbet from which the wâdy takes its name; but I had no time to visit it, as I was anxious to examine the Khurbet of Musherfawi which crowns the lofty projecting bluff that separates the Wâdy Shukeiyif from the Wâdy es Semakh, and which, from its commanding position, is a conspicuous object from Tiberias, though, so far as I know, it has never been visited. I fully expected to make some interesting discoveries here, as the site was one calculated to attract considerable population in times when every position of natural strength was occupied, and the long heaps of black stone that I saw from a distance tempted me from afar. We had a steep climb up the southern slopes of the wâdy to reach it. These are also clothed, like those of the Jeramaya, with oak and doum. On arriving at the ruin I had no reason to be disappointed as to its extent, the strewn blocks covering a greater area than any I have hitherto visited; but I searched in vain for remnants of its former character or importance, other than was afforded by the inevitable fragments of columns. Here also there were Arab tents and stone quarries, and perhaps if I had time to search carefully over the wilderness of stone I might have found something; as it was, I still had another ruin to visit, at which I was promised results, but a Bedouin's notion of results in matters archæological are too vague to be very encouraging. The Khurbet to which we were now bound, is called El Lawiyeh, and was situated at a very short distance from Musherfawi, immediately below it on the steep hillside which descends from that lofty summit to the lake. There is certainly no point on the whole shore of Lake Tiberias—and I have visited all the summits of the hills which immediately surround it—which commands a more magnificent or extensive view than the one I was now leaving, and I was exceptionally favoured by the clearness of the atmosphere to take in its every detail.

It was a sharp descent to El Lawiyeh, where I found three columns *in situ*, a piece of cornice with the egg-and-dart pattern, and a block on which was carved a small oblong panel, which seems a characteristic of Jewish ornamentation. I could also trace the foundations of the building in which the columns were placed, and although it was impossible to determine its dimensions, enough was visible to convince me that the few remains existing were those of a synagogue, thus making the fifth Jewish synagogue the ruins of which I have found in the cornice of these two visits to the north and east of Lake Tiberias. From which it would appear probable that the whole of this district in the first centuries of our era was thickly inhabited by a purely Jewish population. Its proximity to the chief seat of Talmudic learning, and the wild and inaccessible nature of the country, forming a combination peculiarly adapted to the conditions of their existence at that epoch.

On my return to Tiberias I was informed that a few weeks previously a stone had been unearthed with an elaborate inscription, and on visiting

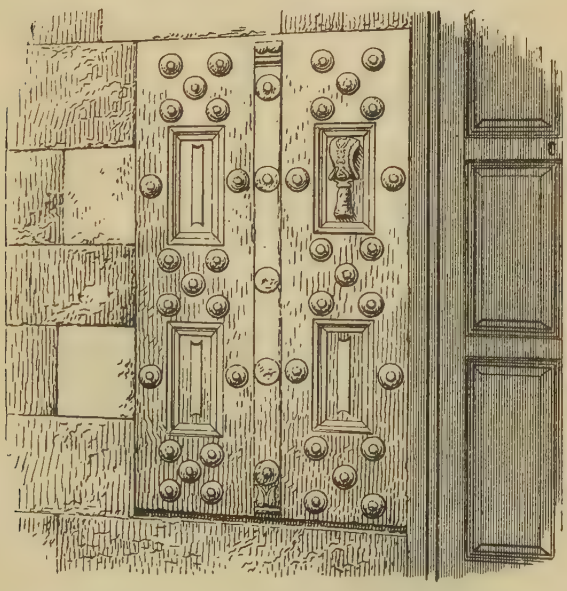
it, found it to be evidently a Greek memorial tablet, though many of the letters were too much worn by time to be very legible. It ran as follows :—

ΑΥΡΝΑΡΚΕΝΛΕΙΝΩ
ΧΝΠΦΡΠΒΙΝΣΑΝΠΙ
ΠΑΜ NΕΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣΙΕ
ΑΥΠΒΑΣΣΑΣΥΜΒΙΟΣ
ΚΑΙΚΑΗΡΟΝΟΝΟΣ
ΠΙΑΣΥΝΚΡΙΠΙΜΝ
ΗΝΗΣΧΑΤΗΝ

The two last words leave no doubt as to its character.

Not long ago a Jew, in digging the foundations of his house, came upon a pair of ancient stone doors, which he had built into the wall on each side of the entrance to his present residence. I visited the spot, and was so fortunate as to be able to have a photograph taken of one of them,

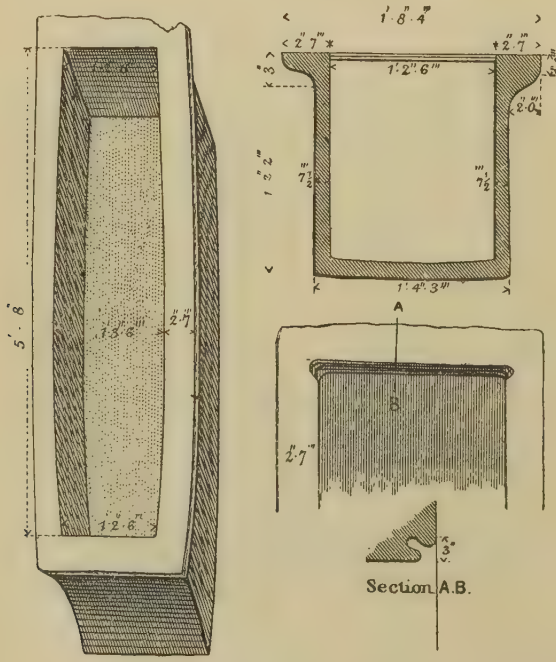
Stone Door.



which I enclose. Each door is 5 feet 8 inches in height by 3 feet in width. The knocker, also of stone, seems to have been more for ornament than for use : this, however, may have been the result of time ; the only difference

between the doors was in the ornamentation of the top and bottom of the central bar which divides the panels. The discovery was interesting, as proving that in ancient times there may have been stone dwellings at Tiberias, such as are found at Bashan, as the doors seem more adapted to form the entrance to a residence than to a tomb, though the devices upon them resemble those commonly found on tomb doors; I have never, however, seen any of these latter of nearly so large a size.

On my way back to Haifa I determined to look at 'Abellîn, a village near Shefr Amr, for the pottery coffins which I had heard had been lately found at that place. I found there were four in all, though I only saw one, in the house of a native merchant; the others had also been appropriated by individuals. This one I succeeded in purchasing, and have had it brought here. It is made of cement, and was excavated with the others from a mound. The lid was broken into two parts, and has not been sent with the coffin on that account. I have, however, sent for it. It was 1 foot 4 inches in width, with a raised edge, and a thickness of an inch and a half. The measurements of the coffin are accurately given in the accompaning sketch (Fig. 8). To judge by its dimensions, it was probably that of a woman.



Pottery Coffin & Sections.

LIST OF NAMES IN ARABIC OF PLACES VISITED.

Dardara....	دردارة
Zeta	زيتا
El Koka	الخوخة
Kanef	كنف
Dar Aziz	دير عزيز
Subbahiyeh	صبحية
Musherfawi	مشيرفاوة
El Lawiyeh	اللاوية

P.S.—I have just received the enclosed design, with the inscription accompanying it, from a colonist of a new Jewish colony, which is about being founded in Jaulân, at Remseniyeh, near Kuneitereh. As there are many ruins at this place, I have instructed the colonists carefully to preserve any antiquities which they may come across in the course of their excavations and building operations, and to send me drawings of them, as, although these will necessarily be somewhat rude and imperfect, they will enable us to form some idea of their character.

NOTES ON QUARTERLY STATEMENT, JANUARY, 1886.

The ornamental door found by Mr. L. Oliphant at Semmaka must be compared with one at Samaria and one from Neby Turfini ("Memoirs," Vols. II and III). The new example has a human figure, the Neby Turfini door has heads of lions and bulls. It is very curious that in spite of the Levitical law the later Jews seem constantly to have carved figures of animals, even on their synagogues.

The pottery coffin from Shefa 'Amr is also interesting. I found fragments of such a coffin at Sheikh Ibreik, and they are known to have been used by the Phœnicians.

Mr. Selah Merrill will no doubt give us further accounts of the masonry at Jerusalem, found very near where I have always proposed to place the "second wall." Dimensions of the stones, measurements of the drafts, and of the projection of the boss, whether the face is flat or rustic, and what is the precise character of the tooling, are all points of importance, also the level of the foundation, and whether it is of rock or earth. We must be very cautious, because the Crusaders had an inner wall in this part of Jerusalem. It is also necessary to know which face of the wall is seen, inner or outer, east, west, north, or south, and how much is *in situ* or displaced. An elevation with measurements, showing each stone, or a photograph, would be very valuable.

Herr Hanauer does not say if he has ever visited the ruin of Erma. I recommend to his notice Vol. III of the "Survey Memoirs," and the name lists. The meaning of the Arabic word I have long known, and it occurs in my original MS. of the name lists.

Mr. Birch's "City of David" now occupies an area of 200 × 600 feet, or $2\frac{3}{4}$ acres. I do not consider this large enough for a city, or even for a country house and grounds.

The *Druze Catechism* is a very mysterious document as it stands, but the meaning is clear enough on the basis of what is already known about the Druze religion. A very unnecessary conception of the mysterious character of Druze dogmas seems—judging from my correspondence—to prevail.

The Druzes are an offshoot of the Moslem Batanîn of the eighth and ninth centuries, whose teachings owed much to the Zoroastrians, the Sabians, and the Manichæans.

"The five and the four" are the five incarnations of the Deity in humility and the four in glory, one of which is still to come. The "boundaries" or Hodûd are certain emanations of the infinite Deity thus 'limited" for a time, or in a certain aspect. Satanaiel and Hamzah are the first and the last of the nine incarnations of the Soul of the Universe. Gog and Magog are the enemies to be slain in the final struggle preceding the Millennium. "The first and the last" are the incarnations just noticed. "The five" again appear to be the five emanations, Natek, Asas, Imam, Hoja, and Dai. The Greeks and the Chinese are held in honour

by the Druze, apparently because their system is partly based on Platonism, and partly on the Bactrian Buddhism which is connected with Platonism. The Druze doctrine as to our Lord is clearly Gnostic, regarding the Eternal Christ as a true Deity, but Jesus as "the Rival," or enemy of Hamza. The true Christ was not crucified, they say, but the body of Jesus was stolen and hidden after his crucifixion by the true Christ in order to prepare men for the preaching of His religion. "The Being who has created the universe" is the Rival, answering exactly to the Demiurge of the Gnostics. Hakim Bi Amrhi is a reverent substitute for Bi Amr Allah. Ismail is Ismail the sixth Imam, also a historic personage. "What they are aspiring after" means the Imâmat answering to the Buddhist Bodisatwah. The Catechism represents a fairly high stage of initiation, but not apparently the highest, which ends in a negation of all dogmas. It would require many pages to explain thoroughly the Druze system, and the utility of the inquiry is not great. All the elements can be recognised either in Buddhism, or in the Gnosticism described by Irenæus. I have written a full paper on the subject, which may perhaps find its proper place in the "Inquiry" now set on foot by the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee.

Zephathah.—The ingenious suggestion of Mr. Flecker does not seem to me necessary, because Wâdy Sâfieh, which I some time ago proposed as the Valley of Zephathah, passes quite close to Mareshah. Objection could well be raised to Tell es Sâfi as being too far away, but this does not apply to the great valley called Wâdy Sâfieh, up which runs one of the high roads to Hebron. No one who knows Hebrew or Arabic would identify Zeita and Zephathah, which have only the T in common, and not as a radical in Zephathah.

NOTES ON "ACROSS JORDAN."

This is a very interesting account of part of the Haurân, and contains much good work. A few notes occur in reading it. The Arabic names in some cases might be translated, and the transliteration in some cases does not quite agree with the original lettering; but these are minor points. *Ain el Ekseir* ("Spring of the little house or tower"). *'Ain Esfeira* I should propose to render "the yellowish spring." It should probably not be spelt with *Te. Ain Janna*, evidently an old En Gannim, "Spring of the garden." *El 'Ajamy*, "the Persian," a common word used to denote any stranger from the East. *El 'Araj:* I have ascertained that this word, which is very common, means the "the ascent," not "the lame." The former meaning may be supported from Lane's Dictionary.

Dûkah is a word meaning a "tract" of land. *Deir el Leyyeh*, evidently a corruption (like *Deir et Mus*, for "Monastery of Amos"), meaning "Monastery of Elijah." *El Emshiyadât*, "the white-washed," from *Shîd*, chalk, used for whitewash; "the sublime" is not very applicable. *Jillin* is probably

an old Gallim ("springs"), as it is near a great stream. The word *Rubud* appears to mean a "lurking place" or "lair," and occurs also in Hebrew. *Kefr es Samîr* is interesting, as showing Samaritan extension towards Damascus. We know that in the seventh century the Samaritans were widely spread over Syria. *El Mezeirib*, "the Channels." The word *Mezrab*, of which this is a diminutive form, is very common, meaning a place irrigated and producing vegetables. *Nâb*, evidently an ancient Nob. *Na'aeimeh*, "the garden." The word occurs near Jericho. *Nukrah*, as in the case of Râs en Nakûrah, I think is used in the Aramaic meaning of "hollowed out" or "cavernous." *Rasm el Haurah*, "the heap of chalk." *Tawahîn el Mughr*, "Mills of the caves," a common collective form from the root Ghâr. *'Ameidûn*, an irregular form from 'Amûd, a "pillar." *Tullûl Kanaan:* It is interesting to know if this is certain. The word Kanân means "ridges," and has been confused by some writers with the Hebrew word Canaan. *Et Tireh:* This is spelt with the wrong T. I believe I was the first to explain the Aramaic origin of the word, the meaning of which, "the fort," is lost among the modern Syrians. *Shukeiyîf* means "little cliffs," that being the local explanation of the word, which is very common. *'Uleika*, also a common valley name, seems to mean "overhanging." The hermit's caves in inaccessible cliffs are called M'allakah. *Wely*, though used to mean a shrine, really means a "favoured person," *i.e.*, the Saint himself.

Khudr does not mean a "a Moslem saint's tomb;" probably this is only an apparent mistake, as El Khudr, the mysterious "green one," who was sought by Alexander of the two horns, is well enough known.

It cannot be too often said that the fellah dialect is peculiar, and much nearer to Aramaic than to Nahu Arabic. I notice that Professor Palmer has sometimes altered my translation of the names to make them accord more with Arabic, but in some of these cases I am quite certain that the meaning which I attached originally is that which the fellahîn give to the word. Professor Palmer had never lived for any length of time among the fellahîn, and the language of the Arabs with whom he was familiar differs in many respects from that of the peasantry.

Page 22. Further observation as to the Feddân seems to be required. It is stated to consist of two yokes in Western Palestine. I never heard of this before, as I always understood the Feddân to be one yoke everywhere.

Page 45. *Arkûb er Rahwah* certainly means "the wide ridge." It cannot represent Argob, which in Arabic would be Arjîb or Rujîb.

Page 50. The curious cone may perhaps be a religious emblem (or lingam) as in Phœnicia.

Pages 64–65. The dolmens on platforms and with surrounding circles are very interesting. I found them also in the Jordan valley with such circles, perhaps representing the prototype of a cromlech.

Page 84. The figure on this page appears to represent the Phœnician Eshmun or Œsculapius.

Page 132. The Mêdany, if correctly spelt, is a curious form of the word *Mâdhneh*, meaning "Place of hearing," and being the usual name of the

prayer towers which we call Minarets—properly *Menârah*, "Place of fire," a beacon or lighthouse. The woodcutter seems to forget, by the way he shows the grass, that this is a tower 60 feet high.

Page 197. *The Makâm Eyub* is a Christian shrine. Pilgrimages to the place occurred in Byzantine times, and the monastery is said to have been built in the third century by Amr, the Jefnide chief. The Greek inscription over the Church door does not seem to have been recopied. The old menhîr is no doubt much earlier than the monastery, but the legend of Job, like many other Bible stories, as localised in Palestine, may possibly be of Christian origin. The Ebionites settled very early in this district, and converted the Arabs. It is difficult to see what Tell el Khammân can have to do with Teman, a word usually represented by Tibneh in Arabic. As to Beidar Uz, the form suggests the origin of the name to be Greek. Uz in Hebrew would in Arabic become 'Aûs or 'Aûd, the latter being the name of a Nabathean and Arab deity. There is a Tibneh in Gilead, but there are many reasons for supposing that the real Land of Uz may probably have been near Petra. It is difficult also to understand why Nâwa is connected with Noah, as the Hebrew word ends with a strong gutteral represented by the last radical of the Arabic Nûh for Noah. Nâwa might come from the Greek Noe, but hardly from the Hebrew Noah. Neby Sâm, mentioned on the same page, is found also in Philistia, and appears to be Shem. The Biblical traditions of Palestine require to be very cautiously treated, as Christians were settled and were teaching the Arabs in Syria from the second to the seventh century, and even later, and again in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and from the fifteenth century down to our own times. I have already pointed out one certain case in the Jordan valley of a monkish legend preserved by Bedawîn.

The inscriptions appear to have been copied with care, though occasionally similar letters have been mistaken. The texts are chiefly funerary. The long text (p. 134) from Ed Dr'ah contains the date 158, probably of the era of Bostra, making the year 264 A.D.; it contains the title Autocrator, the names of Galienus, of Isidorus, Bassus Marcus Antoninus, Zenodorus, Ælius Torinus, and Sabinus also occur. The two texts from the Wely Neby Sâm bear no Christian emblems, but it is not impossible that they may be Christian, since monasteries were built by the Beni Ghassan in the second century in the Haurân. The first is funerary, the tomb apparently of a certain Phædrus, who is said to enjoy "eternal life in heaven." The second seems to contain the name Dosetheas. Another text from Sheikh S'ad has the date 65, or 171 A.D. Another from Zeizûn has the name Lucius Antonius. Two others from Zeizûn are said to be Christian, but bear no Christian emblems. The first has the date 80, that is to say, 186 A.D., and contains the name of Zeizûn itself in the form ZIZIOYΣ, the other mentions a certain Epiarch Antoninus. These texts, therefore, like many others already collected, belong to the time of the later Antonines, and of the Syrian Emperors, down to the days of Palmyrene supremacy. I have not yet been able to compare them with Waddington or De Vogüé.

There seems to be no impossibility in the suggestion that Zeizûn represents Capitolias as far as position is concerned.

No translation is given of the Arabic text from Ed Dr'ah, though presumably the meaning was clear to the copyist. "In the name of God the merciful, the pitiful renewed this Minaret (Menârah) the ruler of the pilgrimage, Daud Ibn, Othman Ibn . . . the humble before God Most High in the reign of the Emîr Aly, son of Shahl. . . . Selim the Kâdy; may both his hands be made strong (or healthy). In the year seventy and seven hundred" (1369 A.D.). Probably Daud was in charge of the Haj to Mecca, then as now passing yearly through the Haurân.

As regards Argob, the Targum of Jonathan translates it Tarakuna, which explains the usual identification with Trachonitis—the Lejja. Reland, however, suggests a connection with the Talmudic Ragaba, now the village of Rujib, north of the Jabbok, which I visited in 1882, and found to be evidently an ancient site. The Havoth Jair villages were in Argob, and this region is said to have been in Bashan (1 Kings iv, 13). So that although Ragaba would be within the kingdom of Og, it seems perhaps too far south for Argob, but it cannot be certainly said that Reland is wrong, for Bashan included Batanea, now El Butein, nearly as far south as Regueb or Ragaba. There is no apparent notice of a *town* of Argob in the Bible.

While speaking of the towns of this district I may note a new identification. Maked (1 Macc. v, 26), also called Maged (verse 36), was in Gilead. I think it may clearly be the ruin El Mejed near 'Ammân, which is described in my "Memoirs of the Eastern Survey."

Page 54. The curious loopholes in the corridors at Beit Akkâr may be compared with a similar arrangement at El Khashm, near the Roman theatre of Majumas at the south end of Carmel.

Page 56. Mr. Schumacher falls back on the old idea that dolmens are sepulchral monuments. I think, however, that the observations taken of some seven hundred examples in Moab preclude the possibility of such a view. In the present instance (see p. 152) the theory necessitates the very improbable conclusion that bodies were laid uncovered to rot on the surface of the ground, the head thrust under a stone, and the rest of the corpse exposed.

Now it can be shown clearly that from the earliest times in Syria the method of burial aimed at *hiding the corpse*, under a great tumulus perhaps, but generally deep down in a trench at the bottom of a rocky shaft. The idea of erecting a conspicuous funereal monument is a late idea. In Syria it does not appear before about 300 B.C., and the Hebrews and Phœnicians, like Kafirs and other early tribes, endeavoured to conceal the whereabouts of the body, as did the Egyptians also in their earliest tombs. The Romans in the second century built tomb towers containing heavy sarcophagi, but even sarcophagi before the Christian era were placed in subterranean tombs. The Babylonians used vaults, and indeed it is clear that for ordinary sanitary reasons it would have been impossible for any people to conceive so foolish an idea as that of burial in free standing

dolmens, leaving the corpse to rot above ground and liable to the attacks of wild animals. We know for certain that the Syriandolmens were not covered over with mounds, and did not stand over excavated graves. It seems, therefore, quite impossible that they can have been sepulchres, while they are noticed in the Talmud as altars, and still are used as such.

The monument drawn on page 152 resembles other known examples of the *Markulim* or Menhir and altar shrine, which we can trace as late as the second century A.D., and also very early in Phœnicia.

As regards the conclusions (p. 65), they will be of value if they are founded on tabulated results of numerous observations. As they stand they do not agree with the observations which I have tabulated in Moab. I have found, after careful comparison, no law of orientation in the dolmen fields I explored, though very many dolmens were parallel to each other. The size of these dolmens is not equal to that of the splendid specimens at El Maslubîyeh. The holes in the side stones have been found in other cases in Syria.

The Greek masons' marks from Ed Dr'ah are interesting. Similar marks occur on the masonry at Baalbek.

The golden candlesticks from lintels at Nâwa may possibly be Christian, for the Ebionites were a very Judaising sect, and long dwelt in this region.

I cannot find any authority for the statement (p. 209) that there was another Ashtaroth mentioned in the Bible, and distinct from Ashtaroth Karnaim. Reland believes only one such town to have existed, and the Jews and Samaritans only believed in one such city. Ashtaroth Karnaim was named not from any physical feature as here suggested, but from the two horns of the crescent. Istar is called in Akkadian "the lady of the horned face." I think that Ashtaroth Karnaim may best be placed at Tell 'Ashterah, where the name remains unchanged, and not at Tell Ash'ary, a name which represents the Hebrew Seir rather than Ashtaroth. The indications of position are so vague that no objection on this account can be taken to Tell 'Ashterah.

Page 220. I would finally ask why are the Ahseiniyeh rendered "foxes?" Hasein, meaning "goodly," is a proper name. The fox is called Abu el Husein, but this means "father of the fortress," that is to say, the fox's hole. The proper name of the fox is Thaleb.

These remarks are not intended as captious criticism of a useful book Positive statements have, however, a tendency to reappear in other works unless they are called in question, and the advance of knowledge is thus delayed. We are still suffering in archæology from many old errors which have passed into received opinions without having any solid foundation in fact. Perhaps some of these notes may be found useful in a second edition of "Across Jordan."

C. R. C.

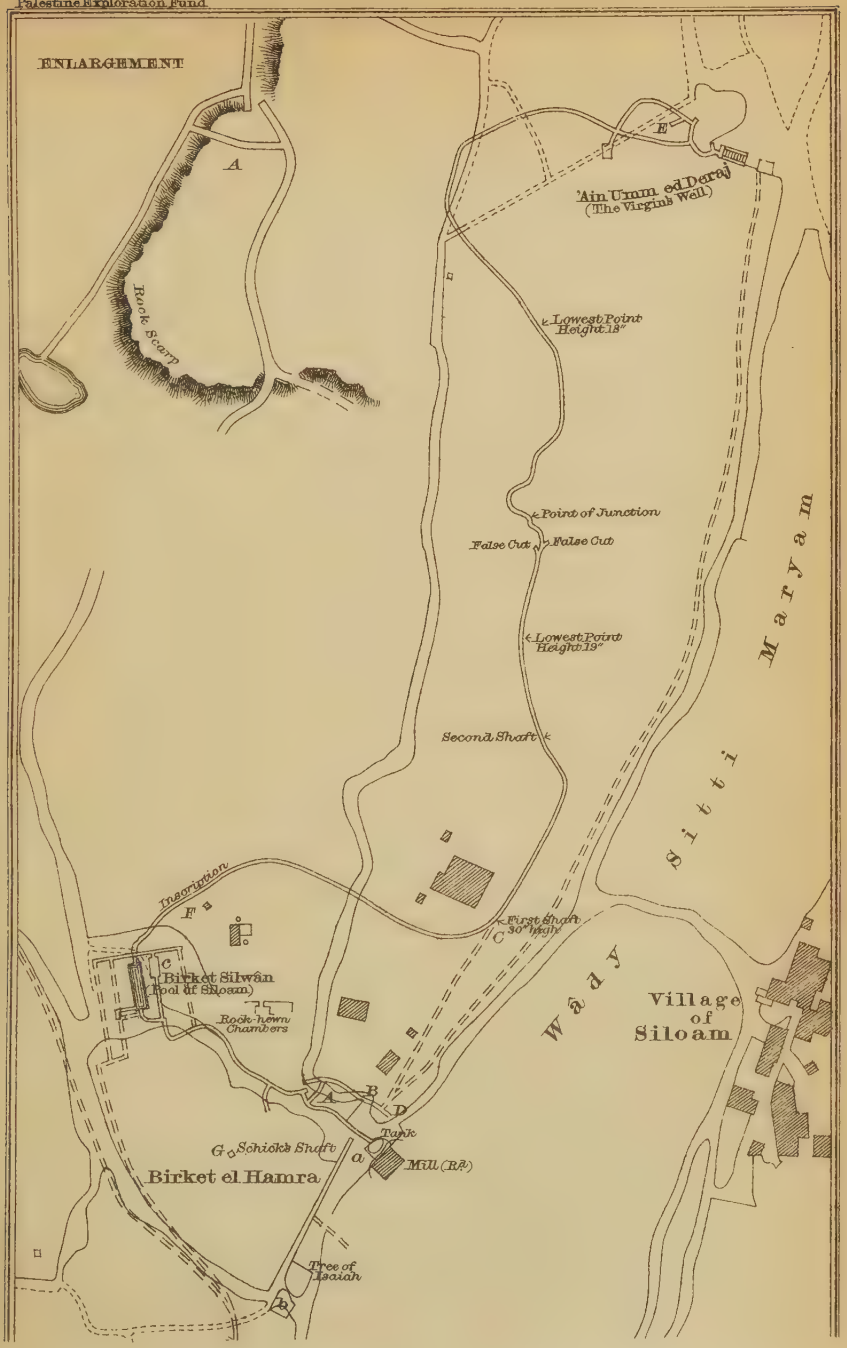
THE AQUEDUCTS AT SILOAM.

When the *Pool of Siloam* is mentioned, that which contains water at the present time is generally meant; below this there is another and much larger pool, which is now used as a garden, and called *Birket el Hamra;* it is formed by a thick wall or dam built across the Tyropœon Valley from Ophel ("City of David") to the western hill (Jerusalem). There are three other tanks, one (near the mill) of an oval form (*a*) on the top of the dam, which is now filled up, but was seen by Herr Schick in 1846; another to the south, outside the dam (*b*), discovered by Professor Guthe, but the north-east corner is believed not to be a right angle; and a third, a small square pool (*c*), found by Professor Guthe in 1881, near the north of the Pool of Siloam. There is now only one real *pool*, but ancient Christian writers mention several (three, four, and more); one was called "natatoria," or the swimming pool; it was large, and had a kind of apsidal end; this appears to be the *Birket el Hamra.*

There were also many aqueducts, of which, though there is no record of their existence, traces are being found. First, the famous one, so often alluded to during the last four years, of which I have not much to say; I found, however, several others when cleaning out the main aqueduct from the Pool of Siloam to the mill; they all lead into the main, along which water now runs. Going down the road from the Pool of Siloam to the mill there is, in the rock-wall on the left, a hole like the entrance to a *rock-hewn tomb.* I cleared it out and found it to be a rock-hewn tunnel, like the famous one, only short. Its form and direction are given on the plan at *A*. For about 16 feet it runs northwards into the rock, and it is then crossed nearly at right angles by another aqueduct. The portion of this latter aqueduct running west has no roof, and is now filled with stones and earth; the part running east has a roof of rock slanting rapidly downwards to a place where there is a regular doorway (*B*), about 4 feet high, hewn in the rock; beyond the door the aqueduct is only about 4 feet high and 2 feet wide, and very regularly cut, and it would be seen on the face of the rock scarp, if it were not covered by the earth of a garden. I sunk a shaft in the garden and found the continuation was only partly cut in the rock, the greater portion, having been masonry, has disappeared. In the garden the aqueduct separates into two branches, one *descending* eastward along the side of the scarp, the other ascending northwards. I cleared the aqueduct which I discovered for about 22 *metres*, and as the northern branch seemed to run towards the first shaft (*C*) in the famous aqueduct, Sir C. Wilson called it a "second" aqueduct. It is quite clear that this aqueduct at one time conducted water to the large pool; was it simply surface water, or was it from the "Virgin's Well?" this question has still to be decided. As the levels not only allow but seem to indicate it, it seems to me that the famous aqueduct originally ran from the first shaft (*C*) in a straight line to the corner of the scarp (*D*), and then passed through the rock to the large pool. I was confirmed in this view when I heard

PLAN OF THE AQUEDUCTS AND CONNECTIONS RECENTLY DISCOVERED AND SUPPOSED CONTINUATION OF COURSE

Palestine Exploration Fund.



from those who had been through the famous aqueduct that the first shaft (*C*) was not a regular rock-hewn shaft, but made of masonry in a way which gave the impression that some alteration had been made or some demolition had taken place. It is only about 60 *metres* from the first shaft (*C*) to the traces of the "second" aqueduct. My idea is that the waters of the "Virgin's Well" originally rose to a higher level and ran down the valley as a small open brook, and that even in the most remote times its waters were brought into a sort of pool made by a dam across the Tyropœon Valley. When the place became a *fenced* city it was necessary to bring the water inside the fortifications, and if possible conceal it from an enemy; the rock-hewn tunnel was then made. The work was commenced at the lower end; they could not have commenced at the "Virgin's Well," for the water would have followed them and made the work impossible. I think they made the upper part first, entering by the first shaft (*C*) and Warren's shaft (*E*), and working towards each other; and that the great bend is caused by a wish to keep clear of some important building in the town above (the City of David). I think there were several shafts now filled up and concealed by calcareous deposit; I believe also that a good deal of the work was done from above in the form of a trench, and that the aqueduct was covered with large slabs, the joints of which are now concealed by calcareous deposit. To cut through hard rock, for a long distance, a passage so narrow and low that the workman has to lie on the ground without being able to lift up his head or sit is impossible. I think, further, that at that time the aqueduct was carried from the first shaft (*C*) to the angle of the scarp (*D*), and thence through the rock to the large pool, so that this "second" aqueduct was older than the portion of the famous aqueduct from the shaft (*C*) to the inscription (*F*), which was made afterwards. The doorway mentioned in the "second" aqueduct could be closed in some way when it was considered desirable to stop the flow of water into the pool and turn it down to the gardens.

In regard to this "second" aqueduct, Captain Conder says in *Quarterly Statement*, 1884, p. 241:—

"I believe that the fact which has originated the idea of a second aqueduct, is that a short tunnel (1) has been found in the rock just north of the dam (2) which closes the old Pool below the modern Pool of Siloam. This tunnel I have seen and entered (3). Its lowest part is considerably higher than any part of the Siloam Tunnel (4), and it runs rapidly up hill (5). If it was ever more than a drain, it was probably the end of the surface channels which existed on Ophel (6) in 1872, but which are now destroyed in quarrying (7). The level (8) precludes the idea that it can have any connection with the Virgin's Fountain."

This is very positively and decidedly spoken, and I have only humbly to remark: at (1) that 22 metres is not so very "short," and it only wants three times more to meet the main aqueduct; at (2), the inlet is "north of the dam," but not the upper end; at (3) when "entered" it is clear that it was not carefully examined, very likely under the influence of a guide who wished to conceal as much as possible; at (4), is not correct.

Proof: on the Ordnance Survey plan the *bottom* of the present Pool of Siloam is shown at a level of 2,087 feet above the sea, the top of the "dam" 2,091; difference, 4 feet. Now the *bottom* of the "second" aqueduct is lower than the top of the dam, and further the water from the pool falls rapidly to the dam top. At (5), only the first part (going north to the lower branch) runs "very rapidly up hill;" not the eastern part. The reason why the original straight and open channel was abolished and this southwards leading tunnel was made, I cannot tell, but think it was used as a stair to go down into the aqueduct, hence left on the top again. At (6), there are still several surface channels on Ophel, besides (at 7) the one destroyed. Further, the Ordnance Survey plan gives the bottom of Virgin's Fountain also at 2,087 feet exactly, as the bottom of the present pool; hence both are on the same level;—the flow of water is therefore due to the rising of its level at Virgin's Fountain. Before the whole aqueduct (*i.e.*, the lower part to the pool with the inscription) was made (or any aqueduct, as I said above) the water rose *much higher than it does now*, and so a connection of both was possible.

I say, therefore, the *large pool* got water from the Virgin's Well *before* the lower part of the large aqueduct was made, but as such an arrangement was not convenient for bathing or other pleasure purposes, it was found profitable to cut from the "first shaft" (*c*) a tunnel through the hill westwards, under the City of David, to a *point higher* up the Tyropœon Valley, where a swimming pool and other bathing arrangements might be made, with the water to be had (from the spring and) higher up in the town. At the lower end of the aqueduct is a rock scarp across the valley, where (in its midst at the bottom) the water runs out. This "scarp," to give it a better look, and also to secure regularity, is cased with a *wall* of fine hewn stones. Along this wall Professor Guthe found a kind of *trough*, made by large and polished stones, into which the water runs. The "trough" has several *outlets*—one to the present *pool*, one to the little pool, and two in the southern part, and I suppose a further one on the north, as I found its lower end entering in the main aqueduct.

Now all drawings and plans of the pool which I have hitherto seen make it a right-angled oblong, but this is incorrect. There are no right angles, and its outlet is in a kind of recess in the south-east corner; its southern wall is not quite straight, and of modern construction, but the lower part of the northern (projecting as a kind of bench) is straight and ancient, and well built of comparatively large stones. I conclude, therefore, that the ancient southern wall was originally of the same construction and in a similar line, so that the outlet would be in the middle. On the bench of the north wall there are still standing a row of pillars *in situ*, but when the wall was made higher, to keep up the accumulation of made earth and *débris*, the half diameter was taken into the thickness of this new wall. Professor Guthe found by his excavation that there was formerly a row of "chambers," or rather halls, along the facing wall across the valley, and gives the measurements of some of their supports, so by this and the "pillars" still *in situ* one is able to restore the plan of the

whole building, a fourfold row of halls for bathing purposes and other amusements.

From the outlet in the pool the water runs first for several yards southwards; it then bends eastwards and enters the main channel, which goes straight on until it bends at a right angle northwards to the foot of the rock cliffs; thence it runs east in a rock-hewn channel to the "dam" and the "mill," partly covered, partly uncovered. The fellahîn of Siloam told me, that when there is much water all of it does not go to the mill by the prescribed channel, but part goes towards the south, and this I found to be really the case. So there must have been a channel towards south, like that towards north; but it is in disorder, and entrance to it broken down (all here is masonry and no rock). Whereunto the water is now going, I cannot tell—either lost in the earth and *débris*, or running in a continuation of an old channel; who can say? Whilst digging for hewn stones the fellahîn found on the southern hill a deep and wide conduit partly hewn in rock and covered by flagging stones, in which at certain distances are holes, so as to let in surface water. May this have been the continuation of the southern channels of the Siloam waters? The level would allow it. Or was it rather (as I believe) part of the old sewer of the town? If such is the case, then we can with some certainty fix the old "Dung-gate" which wandered afterwards higher up the hill to its present site. The "sewer" of the town now runs under the modern Dung-Gate, and 80 metres further on (on the same side of the hill) it is broken and running on the surface or to places to which the fellahîn direct it.

In 1880 (in autumn, when the country is everywhere dry) I made a shaft in the Birket el Hamra (*b*) for water; I found I could not go deep, but drove in an iron rod till it struck the bottom. In the Ophel hill are some caves and cisterns. I should think the "Tombs of the Kings" may be similar.

It would be interesting if learned men could throw some light on all this from the inscription, or the contrary. The "$2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits" I think means that the shaft (*C*) was $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits from the town wall distant; here in the inscription noted, that at any time it might, when wanted, be opened again. My suggestions to the Palestine Exploration Fund would be—

(1) To excavate the "second" aqueduct from the corner of the rock scarp under the soil of the garden northwards to the "first" shaft (*C*), in order to find out whether there was once a connection or no. The cost would not be very great.

(2) To trace and excavate the aqueduct or sewer at the foot of the southern hill, in order to find out whether it has been a sewer, or connected with the Siloam Pool. If proved to be a sewer it could very likely be restored, and thus—

(3) When there is enough money, the neighbourhood of the pool be cleared from earth and *débris*, and all the old remains uncovered, and probably restored again.

(4) The caves on the southern end of Ophel have not been fully cleared nor examined; something might be found to throw light on the "Tombs of the Kings."

C. Schick.

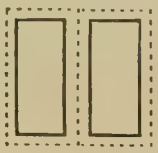
NOTE.

Herr Schick's discovery of a second aqueduct, partially rock-hewn, in connection with the water system of Siloam, is very interesting. It is clear from his description that the lower pool, *Birket el Hamra*, received water direct from the "Fountain of the Virgin" at some period which Herr Schick places prior to the completion of the well-known Siloam Tunnel. There is much to be said in favour of his view, but whether he is right or wrong, the question is of sufficient importance to require further examination. It is therefore to be hoped that the Fund may enable Mr. Schick to prosecute his researches, especially in the neighbourhood of the shaft *C*, and trace out the further course of the aqueduct.

It may be of interest to notice that the "four-fold row of halls," or portico, running round the four sides of the Pool of Siloam, is mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.), and that a somewhat similar arrangement appears to have existed at the Roman bath at Bath. This may also throw some light on the arrangement of the five porches, or porticoes, of the twin pools mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, which I, in common with others, am inclined to identify with the Pool of Bethesda and the *Souterrains* under the Convent of the Sisters of Zion. Four porticoes would be round the pools and one between them, as in subjoined diagrams :—

Siloam.

Twin Pools, Bethesda.



C. W. W.

THE HERODIAN TEMPLE, ACCORDING TO THE TREATISE MIDDOTH AND FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

The great value resulting from a comparison of two independent sources of information as to an historical monument is further enhanced when this comprises a religious motive power, thus making the research of science as interesting to the feelings as it is to the intellect.

The Herodian Temple belongs to this class of monuments, and an exact acquaintance with it is to many the fulfilment of a religious duty as well as the solution of an archæological problem. Of this Temple we possess two totally independent accounts : one in the Treatise Middoth, the other in the works of Josephus. The advantages to be derived from an examination of both sources and documents have been hitherto altogether ignored,

and indeed are still far from receiving their proper value, for it is obvious that this is only possible when the two narratives are regarded as equally trustworthy, when they are scrutinised with impartial eyes, and when the conclusions arrived at are based on internal evidence, not on dogmatic prejudice or pedantry. But in this matter such a criterion has been entirely lacking, for in this case (as in all Judæo-antiquarian questions) Josephus alone receives credence, while the Rabbis—like the Pariahs, with whom no man may come in contact—are not considered competent to give evidence, and have been in this, as in other cases, the object of the most contemptuous attacks for negligence and untrustworthiness.

But, now that impartial and unprejudiced research has at last begun to scrutinise the infallible Josephus somewhat more closely; and to judge him on his own merits alone, not a few dark spots have been observed on this great luminary, especially on the parts now under our consideration. What follows is an instructive example of the difficulty of demolishing the wall of a thousand-year-old superstition or pulling down the stronghold of prejudice. The hundreds of arguments which prove partisanship in his narrative (especially in his account of the Galilean war, in which he was personally interested, or when his time-serving of Titus and the Imperial House guided his pen), the numerous contradictions in his writings (proving beyond doubt that he often worked in the dark, and did not gather his information from pure and authentic sources), and the many other failings conspicuous in his works, have not hitherto been sufficient in the non-Jewish literary world, nor indeed, as we shall see, in the Jewish world of letters in all cases, to promote to its legitimate position a source of information, whose chief fault is that its authors were "Rabbis," to whom truthfulness in matters of history and precision in narrative must always be denied. But though some of the errors which occur may be obviously set down as copyists' mistakes (the *agadic*, where a somewhat emphatic portrayal is required, are easily distinguishable), surely not those, or at any rate not so many of them, as are to be found in the Ideal Historian. In point of precision the Mishna is surpassed by no other work of research, as can be amply proved by the arguments of the Talmud. And yet this original work is pushed aside, though it has at least as much to show in favour of its trustworthiness as the other has against its own veracity. In the following treatise an attempt is made by means of a closer investigation of the two, to harmonise, where possible, what appear to be discrepancies; or, where this is impossible, to reduce the divergence to its smallest dimensions, and to establish the correctness of the statements in the Mishna. If this be called a panegyric, I answer, Why not?—let the Mishna, so long reviled, despised, or totally neglected, have its panegyrist for once. Moreover, the following analysis will furnish supplementary information for the Treatise Middoth from Josephus, as well as other elucidations of the Mishna.

We shall arrange our material according to the threefold division in Tosifta (*cf.* Bab. Tal., Yoma 69*b* and Sota 40*b*), viz.: (1) The Temple-Mount, (2) the Women's Outer Court, and (3) the Men's and Priests' Outer

Court and the Temple proper, subdividing this last into three sections ; in short, we shall divide their construction as the Mishna does, and shall search Josephus for divergences.

A. The Temple-Mount.

(הר הבית τὸ ὄρος ταῦ ἱεροῦ, 1 Macc. xiii, 52) to the Women's Court.

This space consists of two parts, viz., (i) the eastern, outer, and Temple-Mount proper (500 cubits in length and in breadth), and (ii) the western, Chêl. The outer part was wholly surrounded by a wall, and the other part was separated from it by a boundary called the Soreg. The breadth of the former is not given in either of the authorities, but from the statements of the Mishna it can be deduced that it measured 168 cubits, including the wall and the Soreg ; the breadth of the latter is accordingly 10 cubits (Mid. i, 3 ; ii, 1, 3).

The divergences between the Mishna and Josephus, at this point, are as follows :—

(1) The Mishna allots to the Temple-Mount an area of 500 cubits square ; Josephus one stadium (=600 feet).

(2) According to the Mishna there were altogether five gates in the wall of the Temple-Mount, viz., two in the southern side, and one each in the western, northern, and eastern ; Josephus, on the other hand, says there were four in the western side, an indefinite number in the south, and *none* in either of the other two sides.

(3) According to the Mishna the סורג was only 10 handbreadths high, *i.e.*, $1\frac{2}{3}$ cubits (ii, 3) ; Josephus gives its height as 3 cubits.

(4) According to the Mishna there were twelve steps in the Chêl ; according to Josephus, fourteen.

With regard to (1), first let us examine the relations between the measurements furnished by Josephus, who uses the Greek scale, and those of the Mishna, which are according to the Mosaic mode of reckoning. We shall then see not only that the differences which appear so vast are reduced to comparatively small dimensions, but also that the Mishna furnishes the means required for correcting Josephus.

(*a*) According to the Treatise Kelim xvii, 9, 10, there were two kinds of Jewish cubits, viz., a "lesser" cubit of 5 handbreadths, and a "middle-sized" cubit (the Mosaic one) of 6 handbreadths (*cf.* Ezek. xl, 5 ; xliii, 13 ; also Erubin, 4*a*, Menachoth, 97). Now, according to R. Jehuda, whose view is generally accepted, the latter was used in the measurements of the actual building, while the Temple utensils were measured with the former. The Mishna furnishes no indication of the way in which the ground measurements were taken, and since it cannot be shown that any rules for measurements of this kind have come down to later times, either one or the other standard may have been used ; let us then adopt the lesser cubit.

(*b*) According to Thenius (Theol. Stud. and Critiken, 1846, p. 109 *et seq.*), the Mosaic cubit measured exactly 214·512 lines (1 foot = 12 inches, 1 inch = 12 lines) = 18·5 inches; thus the lesser cubit = $\frac{5}{6}$ the Mosaic cubit = 178·76 (but *cf.* Zuckermann, Frankelsche Mtschr., 1864, pp. 335 and 348).

(*c*) Of the Greek cubit (πῆχυς) = $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet, there were also several kinds: (1) the ordinary cubit = 6 handbreadths = 24 fingers (Her. ii, 149) = 205 lines = 17·587 inches; (2) the greater or royal cubit, Babylonian or Egyptian = 7 handbreadths or 28 fingers (233‴) (*id.* i, 178); and finally (3) the little or 5-handbreadths cubit (πύγων, *id.* ii, 175), which, however, is sometimes confounded with the πῆχυς.

(*d*) A stadium is equal to 570 feet 3 inches 4 lines (Uckert, Geog of Greece, I, ii, 73 *et seq.*; and Forbiger, "Handbuch," I, 551 *et seq.*; *cf.* Winer, R. W. B., s.v. Stadium). Now the dimensions furnished by the Mishna (on the hypothesis that they are calculated with the lesser cubit) = 500 × 178·76 = 89380 lines = 620 feet 8 inches 4 lines. Difference from a stadium, a little over 50 feet. But

(*e*) Rosen has proved (Das Haram zu Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz des Moria, p. 35 *et seq.*) that the estimate of Josephus (in the Antiquities) which sets down the extent of the Temple-Mount as one stadium square is too small, but that very likely, according to the estimate given in the Wars, which states the area of the Temple and the Castle Antonia together as six stadia. A considerable amount ought to be subtracted from the extent of the latter, and added on to that of the former. The more exact language of the Mishna therefore supplies us with this correction. (*Cf.* also on this point Keil, Archæol., § 28, 5.)

Regarding (2), Josephus says (Antiquities, XV, xi, 5):—

"On the west side of the outer Temple wall there were four gates, one of which led into the royal castle at the time when the ravine lying between them was filled up, two led into the Lower Town (Acra), and the last into the 'other' town. . . . The fourth façade had also gates towards the middle of it." Keil (Solomon's Temple, p. 131 *et seq.*) considers the latter description of the gates on the east side very obscure, for Josephus adds that there was here a triple colonnade, which was built over a deep ravine, so that it seems incomprehensible that there could also have been gates and entries here. Scholz (in his Comment. de Hierosylmæ singularumque illius partium situ et ambitu, Bonner Program., 1835, p. 11) says that three of these gates were on the western side, and the fourth in the south-west corner; which indeed must have been the case if, besides the four gates, there had been another in the south. The Rabbis, he says, also mention five gates, it is true; but as they place two of them on the south side, and transfer the other three to the west, north, and east respectively, *therefore* (thinks this critic) they show that their narrative is not historical truth, since no gates could have been constructed over a ravine

400 cubits deep, and he blames De Wette (Archæol., p. 240) and Hirth (Year Book of the Royal Academy, Berlin, 1816 : 17, Philosophical Section) for giving credence to the Rabbis in the division of the gates. Keil, in his Archæology, laconically observes that the evidence of "the Rabbis of course counts for nothing" against the express statement of Josephus. But I think I need hardly say that this "ipse dixit" does not settle the question in our opinion. If we examine Keil's argument we shall find his dogmatic assumption is quite groundless. In the south, we are told, there could not be one gate, much less two, as the Mishna says ; for if so, they would have been built over stupendously deep abysses. But this is in flat contradiction to Josephus himself, and therefore he (Keil) is convicted on his own evidence. Moreover, it is altogether opposed to the evidence of the most competent experts—Tobler, Williams, Schulz, Krafft, and Ritter : *for these scholars deny the very existence of this ravine which is alleged to have been so perilously deep—this so-called Cheesemakers' (Tyropœon) Valley, which is said to have extended from the northern peak of Zion to this spot—because minute investigations of the ground all prove it to have been a level plain!* Hupfeld indeed tries (D.M.Z., xv, p. 93) to weaken this hypothesis by stating that we cannot draw any correct inference from its present aspect ; for though it is now a plain, yet (says he) it *may* have been filled in by numberless landslips, &c. But this is scarcely sufficient to prove this alleged deep abyss, and certainly does not establish its existence *beyond doubt.*

On the eastern side there undoubtedly was a deep valley (the valley of the Kidron), as there still is. But because "Josephus knows nothing of a bridge over the Kidron," of course—we are told—there *was* none ; yet there might well have been one then as there is now (Robinson, Palest., ii, p. 171). But we need not pause to seek for errors in Josephus here, for this is just the very weakest part of his topography, since most accurate topographical researches have shown (Hupfeld, *ib.* ; Keil on 1 Macc. i, 33) that he has incorrectly assigned the position of the Acra, which he must have known better than almost anything else. Again, his division of the gates is impugned by many anomalies, for (1) the connection with the "other" town (*i.e.*, the upper town, Zion) would have been far more natural and obvious from the south than from the west ; but not "about the middle," where Josephus places the southern gate, but in the south-west corner. And so Scholz seems to have thought, seeing that he assigns the southern gate or one of the western ones to the south-west corner. (2) The connection with the royal castle, situated at the north-west corner of the Temple (Baris, Antonia, *cf.* the description in the Wars, V, v, 8). And so with the whole of the lower suburb of Bezetha, would have been much closer and more direct on the northern side than on the west, whence they could only be reached by a circuitous walk. (3) The unequal distribution of these gates, by which two are made to lead to the smaller Acra, and only one to the town proper (the Upper Town), must surely appear equally incomprehensible. We shall scarcely therefore be wronging Josephus if we impute to him an error of memory

on this score; but even this is hardly necessary, for he does not *distinctly* declare that the four gates were *on* the western side (πλευρά μέτωπον), but that they were "towards the western side" (ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσ περίοις μέρεσι), so that one of these may, in fact, have been in the south-west, leading to the city of Zion (in the Mishna it is reckoned as one of the two southern gates, and the other may have been the gate which Josephus places "towards the middle" of the south side), and the other, the western gate of the Mishna, to the Acra. Again, as to the two gates of Josephus leading to Baris, one was not a real gate, and therefore is not mentioned in the Mishna. The other (טדי or טרי), in a more northerly direction, was restricted in its use by the Castle Antonia. Moreover, later explorers (Catherwood, Robinson, &c.) by discovering remains of the southern gates in the subterranean double gateway beneath the Mosque ĕl Aksa, have thereby confirmed the Mishna's statements (Winer, *ib.*, p. 580–3), that they were on the other side of the eastern gate, through the πύλη ὡραία (Acts iii, 2–10), which most commentators have held to be this gate.

As regards (3) the commentators of the Mishna differ concerning the structure of the Soreg. According to some, it was a latticework with large interstices (R. Obadia Bartenora, &c.); it was, according to others, a firm wall (Aruch, Maim., &c.). Josephus supports the latter theory, and declares that on this wall pillars were placed with inscriptions for warning off the heathen.

L'Empereur (De Mensuris Templi, p. 42) tries to reduce the great discrepancy between Josephus and the Mishna in this respect by the emendation τρίστεγος (having-three-layers) or τρίστοιχος (three-walled) for τρίπηχυς (three-cubits), and supposes three layers of stone and a fourth of wood, which last by itself (leaving the foundation out of account) might have been of the height given in the Mishna. It is possible also that the balance of the height of the Soreg given by Josephus, where it contradicts the Mishna, was the measurement of the underground foundation (*cf.* אוטם on the Inner Temple, C 3, and R. G. Lipschutz in Comm. תפארת ישראל).

Concerning (4), as far as this passage, abounding in contradictions and inaccuracies, may be aided by one number, the difference will disappear if we suppose that before ascending the twelve steps, and also at the entry into the Women's Court, there stood a threshold stone.

Before passing to the middle part of the Temple, let us here state certain details in which the accounts of the Mishna are sometimes confirmed and made more evident; or, at other times, one among the various elucidations of the Mishna commentators receives additional support. Hence we are able to state—

(*a*) That the Temple-Mount was surrounded by double rows of pillars (Pesach, 13*b* and *c*), since Josephus also speaks of splendid colonnades, which were supported by the outer walls of the Temple-Mount. Moreover, the second explanation of Aruch is justified, viz., that the סטיו (στοαὶ) colonnades were sup-

ported from below. And so also is that of R. Lipmann Heller (Bem. ii, 1) that the Temple-Mount was completely covered except at the sides. We may add thereto from Josephus that the colonnades were from 30 cubits broad, and that the arched roof and ceiling of cedar-wood was supported by white marble pillars, 25 cubits in height, and hewn out of a single block. This last, however, appears to be one of those stretches of imagination he is so fond of, as the passage is in contradiction to another one. (See further down.)

(*b*) That the Soreg was a solid wall, and also that it surrounded the Temple on all three sides of the Temple-Mount.

(*c*) That the Chêl had no special walls of its own, but began immediately after the Soreg. See R. Obadia in opposition to the theory (Maim.), which allots an eastern wall to it (*cf.* Schilte ha-Gibborim, 2*a*). Josephus's account supports the former hypothesis, not only because he mentions no walls between the Soreg and the Women's Court, but also because he says that the inscriptions warning the heathen were placed on the pillars *over the Soreg*, thus indicating that the Chêl began there.

(*d*) That the various flights of steps in the different parts of the Temple filled up the openings of the gates and the whole façade as well, as has been already conjectured in תפארת ישראל ii, 3, No. 23. This, too, is confirmed by Josephus, inasmuch as he says that the 40- (or 30-) cubit eastern wall of the Women's Court was all covered with steps, which also extended over the whole façade. This latter observation will better illustrate the universally maintained statement of the Mishna, that the walls were "high," even if the number be not inaccurate.

(*e*) That the pavement of the Temple-Mount was tesselated with various kinds of stone, unlike that of the Solomonic Temple which had a flooring of cypress planks; and since such was its pavement, this throws some light on that passage (Megilla 22*b*) where it is said that "a man should not throw himself down to pray outstretched on a paved floor." *Cf.* also the frequently recurring רצפה in Ezek., Chron., and the Mischna; also Aruch under רצף.

Without connection with the source of information we are examining, and partly in direct antagonism to it, are the following statements:—

(*a*) That in the inscriptions, heathens were forbidden to cross the boundary of the Chêl, on pain of death. If this inhuman edict was ever published, it would at most have been in times when such heathen-hating zealots as Elieser ben Ananias (see Wars, II, xvii, 2) were masters of the situation.

(*b*) That around the Temple hung warlike equipments taken in battle with foreign tribes, to which Herod is said to have added those taken from the Arabs. No mention is to be found of this in our authorities; the עטרות (Zech., vi, 14), which

were above the Ullam Gate, were according to Aruch and Tosaphot (עטרות) bow-shaped golden window ornaments (*cf.* Oholot xiv, 1). Also Hecatæus says (Josephus contra Apion, i, 22) that there was no dedicatory offering (*ἀνάθημα*) in the Temple; but this would be sheer tautology if, as Herzfeld thinks, this is identical with the foregoing *ἄγαλμα* (statues). Moreover, it is contradictory to the general conception of a Temple among the Jews—"the place of prayer for *all* men" (Jsa. lvi, 7)—the place of peace, to whose altar no iron was to be brought, "so that that which shortens man's days might not be brandished above that which lengthens them" (Mechilta, Exod. xx, 22)—it would, we repeat, be repugnant to Jewish feeling, to make it a standing evidence of the overthrow of their enemies, and though it might have been expected from Herod of Idumæa, it is scarcely to be conceived in his predecessors. In 1 Macc. i, 22, mention is only made of "the golden ornament" on the outside of the Temple, after speaking of the Crown of the Secharja; nor could the "wreaths and scutcheons" (*id.* iv, 55) refer to these trophies, since the Maccabees, at the time of the dedication of the Temple, did not possess the trophies taken from Antiochus. Finally, Josephus himself says (Ant., XVII, vi, 2), on the occasion of the rebellion organised by the patriotic jurists, Judas ben Sariphæus and Matthias ben Margoloth, that Herod had undoubtedly broken the Law by causing a Roman eagle to be placed over the greatest door of the Temple, seeing that the Law forbade the setting up of images.*

The statement of Josephus that the Temple was somewhat lower on both sides than in the middle, so that the latter could be seen at a distance of many stadia by those dwelling opposite or journeying towards it, is neither contradicted nor supported by our authority.

B. The Women's Court (עזרת נשים).

This space was an area of 135 cubits square; no actual mention of any gate is found, but we are told that in each of the four corners was a cell, לשכה, without roof, 40 cubits in length and 30 or 40 in breadth, (R. Schmajah); that scaffolding was brought and set up for the women, at the division of the sexes in the water-drawing festival during the Feast of Tabernacles; that fifteen semi-circular steps, each a cubit and a half in height and breadth, led into the next court; and finally, that there were two underground cells between the two courts for storing the musical instruments of the Levites.

Now Josephus is in this place somewhat obscure, and his two accounts

* [But this evidently applies (1 Kings vi, 29, 35) only to raised pictures (צורות בולטות) or actual images, not to engraved ones (שׂוקעות). *Cf.* Abod Sara, 43*b*].

obviously contradict one another: nevertheless, in each case they differ from the Mishna on the point under consideration. The divergences are as follows:—

(1) Josephus assigns a number of gates to this outer court, viz.: three on the south side, three on the north, and one large one on the east, in the Antiquities; but in the Wars he gives us nine, viz., four in the north and south respectively, and one in the east.

(2) According to Josephus, the double gates were 30 cubits high and 15 broad, but the one "behind the Corinthian," says he, was 50 cubits high and 40 feet broad; now the Mishna tells us that all the gates were each 21 cubits high and 10 broad, except the Ullam Gate, which measured exactly double each way.

(3) Josephus speaks of five steps at the gate of which the Mishna says nothing, although it calculates closely enough the ascent (of 22 or 22½ cubits) from the Temple-Mount to the Hechal Portal (ii, 4, *cf.* Yoma 16*a*), and he says these five steps were not so high as those above, whilst the Mishna states that all the steps were of the height and breadth mentioned (ii, 3), with the single exception of the Ullam flight, and there were only fifteen of these.

As regards (1) later archæologists, Winer and Keil make the two accounts of Josephus tally, by supposing that in the Antiquities he has merely left out the two Women's Gates on the north and south, and that the statement in Middoth ii, 6, where four doors are enumerated in the north and south, harmonises with this. Let us scrutinise this more closely. According to I, iv, 5, there were 7 gates in the "Outer Court," viz., 3 north, 3 south, and 1 east (Nikanor); according to ii, *b*, however, there were 13, namely 4 north, 4 south, 2 smaller gates near the great gate in the east, and two "nameless" in the west. The first-mentioned south gates are all included in the second narrative, and an upper gate (שער העליון) is added, but only one of the first-mentioned north gates is there, and three other names, among them a Jechonja gate, which may well have been identical with the one (ניצוץ) included in the first account in the Mishna, and would only have been regarded as an historical reminiscence; the question whether there was a double name for one of the two other gates last mentioned, and the admittedly omitted בית המוקד is of no consequence to our inquiry. The two last mentioned are the Song Gate (שער השיר) and the Women's Gate (שער הנשים); the former name is explained by the fact that the Levites brought their instruments out of their underground depositories through this gate. Now these depôts lay between the Israelities' and the Women's Court (*id.*); it is very probable, therefore, that this exit was at least in the immediate neighbourhood of the Women's Court. Hence it appears probable that these gates near the western boundary (סמוכות למערב) were situated low down towards the west: on thes outh were the שער העליון and then the שער חדלק in the north the Jechonja Gate (ניצוץ) and the Gate of Offerings

(שער הקרבן), and for the two others we may reasonably assign on the one side the gate of the First-Born (שער הבכורות) and the Water Gate (ש המים), on the other the Women's Gate and the Singers' Gate, if not *in*, at least *near*, the Women's Court.

That the latter is included in the general conception of עזרה is evident from Biblical usage, for in Ez. (at the place before cited) the Women's Court and the others appear under the general term חצר, and are only distinguished by the epithets פנימית and חיצונה, and also from Rabbinical authority (see among others, Maim., Beth Habech. v, 3). Moreover, if we consider the south side, it seems very probable that the last of the gates was situated in the Women's Court. The name of the Water Gate is plainly derived from a well situated there, and in Ez. xlvii, 2, it is stated "the water gushes forth there, and will again flow forth from the well of the Temple;" and again he tells us, God led him to the gate of the House (*i.e.*, Temple), from whose threshold gushed forth water. "And he led me forth to the outer gate of the way, to the gate that looks towards the east, and behold! water trickled out," &c.; thus it was in the extreme east, *i.e.*, the Outer (Women's) Court (*cf.* Rashi and other commentators). Finally, our theory is supported from post-Exile times by a passage in Nehemiah viii, 1, 2, and receives additional corroboration from Yoma 69*b*. In that passage it is distinctly stated that Nehemiah performed the reading and expounding of the Law on the place by the Water Gate for men and women, which (says the Talmud) took place "at the Women's Court;" hence it follows that the Water Gate must, at any rate, have been in its immediate vicinity. We are thus quite justified in placing the outermost gate on the north and south side of this space. That Josephus omits the two little side gates of the Nikanor Gate does not call for special remark, as the first Mishna (which only mentions seven) does the same. It seems much more difficult to understand the two ("nameless") western gates of the last Mishna. True it may be that these are not mentioned in the first Mishna because they were much smaller than the other ones. On the other hand, Josephus positively declares that "the western side had *no* gate: the wall here ran on in an unbroken line"—just as also the Ezek. Temple has no water-gate, which Abard (Intr. to Ezek., *cp.* 40) has already pointed out, and even ת"ר"ט on Schekalim V, v, 3, would be inclined to support Josephus if he were not restrained by reverential belief in the Mishna.

Even if Josephus is correct—as many archæologists, both ancient and modern, think—in placing the Nikanor Gate in the east and at the entrance to the Women's Court, in opposition to the constant testimony of the Mishna and the Talmud, which places it in the west by the Israelites' Gate, the difficulty in this passage will, on further scrutiny, be found to be in nowise diminished. For Josephus has distinctly declared that special gates were constructed for the women on the north, south, and east sides, but (says he) the west side (called the women's bounds) had no special gate, but ran on uninterruptedly, which, however, does not preclude their having been one or two gates on the west side

of the Israelities' and Priests' Courts. But the premiss itself is false: Josephus places the Nikanor Gate on the same spot as the Mishna does (see below). Nevertheless, the difficulty can be got over if we agree with the lately edited באר הגולה* in placing the two west gates in the corner of the Ullam which projected into the Hechal (see below), for then the west side of the actual wall would of course be without gates and run on uninterruptedly.

As for (2), the divergences, which seem so obvious and so immovable, will be found to admit of complete explanation by a closer comparison of the texts. The Mishna says (ii, 3), "All the gates (except the Ullam) were 20 cubits high and 10 broad, and all of them (the Ullam again excepted) had doors." Josephus says, after giving the dimensions, "The space broadened from the entry inwards on both sides into tower-shaped niches, 30 cubits in width and in length, 40 in height." But neither the Mishna nor Josephus says that the doors were immediately by the entry, so that they may easily have been hung much further back in the sloping interior at a correspondingly greater elevation and width.

As for (3), the five steps which led "to the gates"—mention having already been made of fourteen—have been the cause of much racking of brains for archæologists, which has finally led to Winer's complaisant solution, accepted even by Keil ("Archæol.," p. 151) and Rosen (*ib.* p. 43), viz., the assumption of 14+5=19 steps to the Women's Court. Thus once again the peace we thought to have established between the accounts of the two authorities on this point is imperilled. But to these accounts there is something to be added. Josephus tells us of fifteen steps, agreemg with the Mischna, which led out of the Women's Court into the Men's, and he adds that one-third longer steps led to the other gates. This is explained (*cf.* Winer) by the Women's Court lying five steps lower than the men's, for Josephus observes that these fifteen steps were "lower" than the five which led to the other gates (those of the Men's Court), and thus the five and the fifteen had each the same total altitude; but this is again contradictory to the Mishna, in which it is said that each step, except those of the Ullam, had the same height and breadth. Thus the hypothesis and the deductions obtainable from it are alike invalid, owing to internal contradictions in their enunciation. If we are to suppose the five steps connected with the fourteen in the Women's Court—(and we have already expressed our opinion that had this been the case Josephus would surely have said so, which opinion is strengthened by the fact that he allots another number (viz., 15) to the next flight)—by which means alone we can get number nineteen, then it would seem obvious that they could not be connected with other steps in a totally different situation. But Josephus would surely have spoken of nineteen steps, not of fourteen and five, to which, lastly, moreover, he expressly applies the epithet "other"

* [Mainz, 5637. An anonymous work belonging to the first third of the seventeenth century. See the introduction for Delitzsch's and S. Sach's theories as to its author.]

(ἄλλοι); and finally, Josephus says, not that these fifteen steps were "lower," but that they were "shorter" (βραχύτεροι), apart from the fact that it would be a peculiar architectural freak to flights of stairs with such high steps on the north and south, and on the west a flight with lower steps, altogether out of proportion to the others. It seems, therefore, most probable that the five steps were totally disconnected with any of the other flights, and that in a diagonal direction towards the northern and southern gates (to which, for completeness' sake, may perhaps be added to the eastern gate, though one of the two flights certainly led to it already), the terrace-shaped walls of earth were led up to by five steps, which were longer than the others. The Mishna in its description takes no notice of these, because it is only concerned with the direction from east to west; and by limiting the aim of its dimensions (ii, 3) by the words "which were there" (שהיו שם), it excluded the application of them to the other sides.

We cannot here obtain from Josephus so much material for supplementing the Talmud as we did in the last section; such as it is, it may be summed up as follows:—

(*a*) The wall of the Women's Court (if Hirth's emendation be correct) was 30 cubits high.

(*b*) The broadening of the portal inwards into tower-shaped niches of 30 cubits in length and breadth, and 40 in height, supported by two pillars, each 12 (?) cubits in girth.

(*c*) The height of the gate towers.

(*d*) Confirmation of the probability that the two ("nameless") western gates were not in the middle of the wall, but in the corners.

(*e*) The five steps situated at the side gates, providing a connection with the Women's Court.

(*f*) That the Nikanor Gate was made of shining metal (ii, 3) (Corinthian bronze).

Not in accordance with our tradition are the following:—

(*a*) That the gates, posts, and threshold-coping were covered with gold and silver; according to ii, 3, they were covered with gold only; however, the record there speaks of gates only, and it is possible that the silver covering may apply to the posts and threshold-coping.

(*b*) That women were so rigorously forbidden to overstep their prescribed limits; of this our Talmudic sources say nothing, or at most the passage (Kidduschin, 52*b*) relating to it involves nothing like this rigour. Moreover, according to the commentators, the above-mentioned women's gate was so called because the women entered the inner court through this gate to assist at the offering of sacrifice, then that the women present were not to advance as far as the men.

In conclusion, just a word or two as to the position assigned by Josephus to the Nikanor Gate. Many scholars, of our own and of former days, conceive that this gate, which the Mishna situates at the end of the

Women's Court, is placed by Josephus at the east side of the court, hence adjoining the Chêl. But a closer scrutiny of this part of his narrative will show the error of this belief. He does indeed say (Wars, V, v, 3) that this gate of Corinthian bronze (the Nikanor Gate) lies without the Temple (by which we must also understand the two inner courts, for he calls the sanctuary, in its narrower sense, "the sanctuary itself"—*αὐτὸς ὁναός*—§ 4); but this is certainly indefinite enough, for the Temple proper only embraces the Hechal and the Holy of Holies. However, the two inner courts may be perhaps included in the chief division, as in our arrangement. If so even, it must be admitted that this Nikanor Gate is situated by him in front of the Israelites' Court at any rate, and certainly not on the east side of the Women's Court; moreover, in the very passage we have been dealing with, Josephus speaks of the gate "behind the Corinthian, in the women's court, on the east side," opposite the entry into the sanctuary, so that the Corinthian must have been westward of this gate, *i.e.*, at the entry into the Israelites' Court, which he (as aforesaid) includes in the sanctuary. The last-named gate is the above-mentioned שער הקדים, or שער התחתון (see בפתור ופרח, *cp.* 6).

We now come to the last division of our subject, which we split up into the following subdivisions, proceeding from east to west:—(1) The two inner courts (Israelites' and Priests'), the courts (in a narrower sense) to the altar of sacrifices; a space behind this altar stretching to the fore-hall of the Temple proper (בין מזבח לאולם), 22 cubits wide; (2), this forehall; (3) the sanctuary proper, consisting of two parts; (4) the space behind this sanctuary.

C 1. The Outer Courts up to the Ullam.

Each of these courts has the same breadth as the Women's Court (135 cubits), and a depth of 11 cubits; between the two was a boundary of ראשי פספסין. The explanation of these words is much disputed; some hold it to have been a beam running across the bottom (R. Shmajah), while others maintain that it was a projection of timber from the north and south walls (R. Obadia). According to a statement of R. Cheser ben Jacob (derived from Maimonides), the connection between these two courts consisted of an erection, 1 cubit in height, extending along the whole breadth, and on this stood the orchestra of the Levites, made of stone, 1½ cubits high, and having three steps, each ½ a cubit in height. In the fore-courts were a great number of cells (לשכות), and in the Priests' Court, the altar of sacrifices, constructed as follows:—It stood on a base 32 cubits square, of such sort that on the south and east from the edge to the boundary on the north and west, there was a gradual diminution of a small (5-handbreadth) cubit; so that the base on the north and west was 32 middle cubits, but on the other sides was less by a small cubit in the north-east and south-west (increasing to a smaller cubit). On these lines stood a rampart filled with stones, one (middle) cubit high; then an

embankment on all four sides, a (smaller) cubit high, and a similar rampart 5 (middle) cubits high was erected round the sides of this area ($30\frac{1}{3}$ middle cubits); then, on a further embankment of a (small) cubit was thrown up a rampart 3 (middle) cubits high, and of similar composition, so that the area of the new surface was $28\frac{2}{3}$ (middle) cubits. On the four corners a space was embanked, a (middle) cubit longer and broader and a (smaller) cubit higher, and this was left hollow. Thus the priests only moved about on a surface whose sides were $26\frac{2}{3}$ (middle cubits) and breadth less than a (middle) cubit; for the inner square of $24\frac{2}{3}$ (middle) cubits was the actual burning-place. The height amounted to $9\frac{2}{3}$ (middle) cubits = 58 handbreadths, or 8 middle and 2 smaller cubits (Middoth, *cp.* iii, Menachoth 97*b*; Maim., Beth Habech. ii, 7). The space (of 22 cubits) behind the altar was entirely taken up by a flight of stairs, having twelve steps of various breadth and height, which ran along the Ullam Wall (תפארת ישראל), iii, 6.

Now let us see what Josephus says in this respect, as to the constituent parts of this portion :—

(1) He places a little low stone barrier of one small cubit in height (πηχυαῖον) between the Israelites' and the Priests' Courts, which may easily be reconciled with the ראשי פספסין, especially with the first of the accounts given (פספסין *v.* ψηφίς); still more easily with R. E. b. J., whose height of one cubit may well be identical with Josephus's boundary, from which, however, he must have omitted the three steps of the דוכן. Again, he says the Temple and altar were *surrounded* by this enclosure (περιέστεφε δὲ τὸν τε ναὸν καὶ τὸν βῶμον, κ.τ.λ) so that the people might be separated from the priests: according to v, 2, the boundary was only on the east side.

(2) The altar (according to Josephus) was 50 cubits in length and in breadth, and 15 in height. As for (1), whilst it may be shown, by internal evidence from Josephus, that his usage of the words "enclose," "surround," is inexact, yet he here probably meant only *one* encompassing wall: otherwise he must have allotted to this partial enclosure the whole 135 cubits, as he himself gives the breadth of the Temple as 20: hence, if the expression is to be taken literally, it would follow that the people had free ingress as far as this enclosure. But, according to our authorities, the people could not set foot in the space of 11 cubits before the altar, *i.e.*, the whole width of the Priests' Court, and this is confirmed by Josephus when, in his usual summary fashion, he distinctly mentions (Ant., XV, xi, 5) a third inner room which priests alone might enter, and also when (Wars, v, 6) he refers to the altar the space "before the Temple," having previously left room in the Priests' Court. Finally, no credence can be given to this "enclosure-wall," because the altar was placed so far in the interior of the Temple towards the west that we

have no space left at our disposal for the continuation of an east wall round the altar and its appendages ; besides which the Ullam would have been divided by it. The expression, therefore, must certainly be altogether inexact, and we need only devote our attention to an east wall at the entry to the Priests' Court, by which the people were certainly kept back from entering the altar. But if any one is still inclined to insist on enclosures round the altar, let him content himself with the many cells in the east and west corners, which certainly, in an indirect fashion, surrounded (*i.e.*, enclosed) the Priests' Court with regard to the altar (*cp.* also Herzfeld, Gesch., p. 488, Anm. 114).

As for (2), Hirth has already shown (as before, p. 12) that there would certainly not be room enough for an altar covering so large an area ; he therefore suggests as an emendation 40 instead of 50 cubits,* while others before him would alter cubits to feet (*cp.* Haverkamp note on this passage). According to this latter assumption the difference in the statement of the dimensions is reduced to so small an amount that it might well remain unnoticed in much more precise accounts than those of Josephus ; for 50 feet (Greek) = $\frac{2}{3} \times 50$ *πήχεις* = $\frac{2}{3} \times 15 \times 17{\cdot}587$ inches = 586·2 ; while 32 (Mosaic) cubits = $32 \times 18{\cdot}5$ inches = 592 inches ; the total deficit not quite 6 inches (see above, A (*b*). Moreover, it is distinctly laid down by both Josephus and the Mishna that the base was made in such a way that the surface gradually became narrower, and this view is adhered to by former and present archæologists (*cf.* Reland Aut. Sacr., 97*f* ; Cramer de ara exteriore templi, Ugolini, Winer on Altar of Burnt Offering). Undoubtedly the difference in height is in any case greater, but this also may be much reduced. To justify our method let us first take a cursory view of all the numbers which occur in our survey. There are 53 of them, viz., 1 stad. (4 times), 300 cubits (2), 120 (1), 100 (2), 90 (1), 70 (1), 60 (2), 55 (1), 50 (5), 45 (1), 40 (5), 30 (4), 25 (5), 20 (3), 15 (3), 10 (2) (but one of these should only be 9), 5 (2): to these add 12 (2), and 162, 27, 16, 14, 8, 6, 3, each occurring once. Very competent investigators have declared that five of these last nine numbers are untenable (some from internal evidence, and some from their obvious improbability), so that only four of these are left. Thus he gives us 44, most of them divisible by 10, the others divisible by 5 ; also 4 not reducible. Is it then a very arbitrary statement to assert that Josephus has a violent longing for numbers as large as possible at one time, and at other times for numbers divisible by 5, and that he tried everything to obtain them ? Now we have already mentioned (A *i*) that there was among the Greek lineal measures a small cubit (*πύγων*), which contained only 5 handbreadths, and that this was sometimes put for the *πῆχυς*. Let us suppose, then, that Josephus, from a predilection for multiples of 5, used this as his standard in the height : we get $17{\cdot}587 \times \frac{5}{6} \times 15 = 219{\cdot}837$ inches ; the Mosaic = 58 handbreadths = $10 \times 18{\cdot}5$ –

* Yet this does not, as he thinks, give the *same* ratio between the dimensions as in the Solomonic Altar (2 Chron. iv, 1), where the ratio is 1 : 2 (10 : 20), while here it is 3 : 8 (15 : 40). Still the difference is diminished.

$\frac{18 \cdot 5}{3}$ = 179 inches (*circa*), difference (slightly over) 40 inches, *i.e.*, $\frac{40}{17 \cdot 587}$ = (*circa*) $2\frac{6}{17}$ Greek cubits, thus nearer 15 than 10, for which reason Josephus put them down as 15.

By way of supplementing our knowledge of Middoth through Josephus, we get well nigh nothing more than the new explanation of the ראשי פספסין or of the מעלה of R. E. b. J. On the other hand, we are made acquainted with not a few absurdities and unnecessaries (see note 39). There is one remark touching the ritual, viz., "that no non-priest might, *in any case*, enter the Priests' Court;" but the Mishna, much more precise in these particulars, says (Kelim i, 8) that this veto was not altogether absolute, but forbade any non-priest to enter the Priests' Court "except on occasions of bringing their offerings there;" and Herod (Josephus notwithstanding) certainly did not hesitate to make use, like any Israelite, of his ritual rights.

C 2. Fore Hall.

(אולם) its Walls and Entry.

The twelve steps at the end of the Priests' Court formed the entry into the Ullam—the fore hall of the two divisions of the Temple proper, which in the Mishna's language is included under the denomination, Hechal (iv, 6, 7). It had an eastern wall 5 cubits thick, with an entrance gate (40 cubits high and 20 broad), the latter having merely a curtain and no doors (ii, 3), though the other gates were furnished with both (Yoma 54*a*. Ketuboth 106*a*). Above the Ullam Gate was an ornamentation consisting of five cross-beams (אמלתרא *μελάθρον*) of oak, so arranged that a beam of 22 cubits long stretched above the threshold and extended, on each side, one cubit beyond the portal; above it the next beam was one cubit longer in each direction, and so on, each beam increasing one cubit each way, as it ascended; the whole being interspersed with masonry. The east wall was longer than the 70 cubit broad façade of the Temple proper (Hechal, in the narrower sense, and the Holy of Holies) by 15 cubits both north and south. This east wall was connected with the wall of the Hechal opposite to it by cross-beams at the top, and from these beams golden chains hung down into the Ullam space (iii, 5, 6, 7; iv, 7).

Here let us note the following points in the narrative of Josephus which differ from our authority:—

(1) Josephus states that the Ullam Gate was 70 cubits high and 25 wide.

(2) He says the length of the Ullam was 50 cubits; and

(3) That the wall in front on the Ullam extended 20 cubits each way beyond the Hechal.

As regards (1), the difficulty may be solved as above in B 2, for Josephus is here again speaking of *doors*, where the Mishna only speaks of *entries*.

As for (2), the figures given by Josephus are at variance with his own

statements, and therefore they furnish no materials for criticising a record which is unimpeachable, either on internal or external grounds; especially when this record shows us cubit by cubit the relative positions of the many hundred cubits.

As for (3), *cp.* iii, 2.

Let us once more set forth such information supplementary to our authority as is obtainable from Josephus and *vice versâ*.

(*a*) The two projections of the Ullam walls on the right and left are called by Josephus "shoulders" (ὥσπερ ὦμοι). This should support the opinion of the ר"א"ב"ד (Beth Habech., iv, 5, *cp.* also ת"י"ט iv, end) against that of Maim., viz., that the Ullam wall was *only* in the east, and not also in the north and south.

(*b*) Josephus is in harmony with the Mishna in speaking of a separating curtain in front of the fore hall without doors, and (like the Mishna) he again makes mention of such a curtain in front of the Hechal; this information is further supplemented by the Talmud telling us that there were thirteen such curtains of the Israelites' Courts altogether (Yoma 54*a*, Ketuboth 160*a*, *cf.* Tamid vii, 1), among them one in front of the Hechal, which, however, ת"י"ט on Tamid vi, 1, has overlooked, although he himself quotes the passage in the Talmud, Shekalim iv; *cp.* on this R. Jesaia Berlin, in his Annotations to the Mishna (ראשון לציון).

A not altogether uninteresting little point in a certain passage in the Talmud may be cleared up from Josephus. He states (Wars, V, v, 4) that on the fabric of these curtains was a representation of all the sky, except the zodiac, while according to Jerus. Schekal. viii, 5, lions and eagles alone were said to have been represented thereon. Hence the passage we have referred to would seem to support the hypothesis of R. Eliah Misrachi on Exod. xxvi, 31, and R. Juda Rosanis משנה למלך on Klê Hamikdasch viii, 15, who think that Jerus does not mean that the representations on the fabric were limited to these two forms.

To conclude, some light may be thrown on a doubtful passage in Josephus, not hitherto properly understood, and this may be done from our authorities and by means of the comparison above made between the various cubits. Josephus says that from the Ullam outwards the front part of the nave was open, and was 90 cubits high, and so forth. This number 90 appears incomprehensible after Josephus has given the inner temple a height of 100 cubits, and to ascribe the difference (like Winer does) to the slope of the roof is unsatisfactory, because the roofs in the east are quite flat (as Hirth here takes it), or at any rate never afford such a precipitous slope as this would require. But on comparing the statement of the Mischna as regards the height of the Temple (iv, 6), we find that the main part ends with the 91st cubit (inclusive) and the other 9 cubits are only ornamental. Now, suppose that the outer hall (תפארת ישראל No. 74) provided, like the Temple itself, with a roof, had actually one in common with the Temple, but, not having such ornaments,

its height was terminated by the roof itself: then in the total height there would be a deficiency of 9 Mosaic cubits = 9 × 18·5 = 166·5 inches; 10 Greek cubits = 10 × 17·587 = 175·87 inches; difference (slightly over) 9 inches, which, coming from Josephus (who is summary in these matters), may be regarded as in accordance with the Mishna.

C 3.

Hechal, Holy of Holies, space behind.

Next to the Ullam comes the 6-cubit thick Hechal wall, in which was a gate (20 cubits high and 10 broad) with doors, and on the boundaries. Over this gate was a golden vine resting on poles, and frequently augmented by new offerings such as golden leaves or pears, or grapes of gold. The Hechal itself was entered by the Hechal Gate. The lower nave was 40 cubits in length and height, and 20 in breadth; cornices and ornamentations 5 cubits in height, succeeded this lower space; then the upper storey with the same dimensions as the lower, and in addition timber ornamentation, latticework and bird-scarers, in all 9 cubits high. From this could be entered the Holy of Holies, of the same height and breadth, adornments, projections, &c., but only 20 cubits long. In front of the Holy of Holies was a cubit's space, partitioned by two curtains. The west wall of the Holy of Holies was 6 cubits thick, and by it was a cell 6 cubits broad, with a back wall 5 cubits thick and 11 cubits vacant space behind it, in which the priests could move about (*cp.* Yoma 21*a*). The breadth of 100 cubits was completely filled by the Ullam wall; Hechal and the Holy of Holies were respectively at a distance of 15 cubits each northwards and southwards, and constituted a breadth of only 70 cubits. These were thus distributed: on each side the outermost wall of enclosure, 5 cubits thick; next outer cells 3 cubits broad, cell-walls 5 cubits thick, cells 6 cubits broad and the Temple wall proper, 6 cubits thick (iv, 1, 6, 7; v, 1).

On comparison with Josephus, we have the following divergences to consider:—

(1) The Hechal Gate was (according to him) 55 cubits high and 16 broad; moreover, Josephus appears to know nothing of the double doors.

(2) The breadth of the Hechal and of the Holy of Holies was, says Josephus, only 60 cubits, and consequently the wall of the Ullam projected, according to him, 20 cubits in each direction beyond it.

(3) The Mishna (as shown above) allots the height in such a way that both lower and upper naves are each 40 cubits; in the total of 100 cubits are included the foundation, the 5 cubits of woodwork between the two storeys, and the 9 cubits above the upper one; Josephus merely remarks, very laconically, "Lower nave 60 cubits, upper 40."

(4) Josephus appears to think there was only one curtain between the

Holy of Holies and the Hechal, but the Mishna gives two (אמה טרקסין).

(5) Lastly, Josephus having disregarded the due proportion between the breadth of the Hechal, together with the Holy of Holies, and the Ullam, has no space to spare behind the west wall of the Holy of Holies.

As for (1), we will not merely content ourselves with the remarks on B 2; for, according to the Mishna, this gate was not like that of the Ullam, higher than the others; and therefore we have no warrant to go beyond the maximum height of the highest part of the portal, as given by Josephus, viz., 40 cubits. Now Lightfoot has brought the foregoing divergences into harmony, by the supposition that Josephus has included the timber-work, ornamentation, &c., in his measurement, while that of the Mishna is the entrance alone. Moreover, that Josephus at any rate knew something of some double doors in the Temple, that they were those of the Hechal, and are here referred to by him, seems at least extremely probable (*cp.* Anm., 48.)

As for (2), the difference in the statements of the breadth of the Hechal, or rather the projection of the Ullam wall, may be more apparent than real; for the Mishna includes the 5 cubit thick outermost northern and southern wall of the Hechal and of the Holy of Holies, but Josephus does not; which seems the more plausible, according to the view maintained by some who take this כותל המסבה to have been a solid and hence useless, whilst the Slaughter-Knife Cell [בית החליפות] in these projections of the Ullam was certainly made use of. Hence the breadth of the Hechal would be diminished on each side by 5 cubits, and of course the projection of the Ullam would be increased by the same amount.

The explanation of (3), (4), and (5) might well be that Josephus, in order to obtain the highest possible round numbers, includes woodworks and ornamentation, like that of the 5 cubits above the lower storey; for we have found him capable of much more serious deviations (*cp.* on 1); but even then there would still be a difference of no less than 9 cubits. Now, of course, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits may be accounted for by the difference between the Greek and the Mosaic cubit, but even then the balance of $6\frac{1}{2}$ cubits appears excessive. This may be removed by a closer scrutiny of the *foundation* (אותם). Among commentators of equal authority there is a difference of opinion as to whether this part, which takes up 6 cubits of the height, was underground (Maim., R. Obadia), or was like a threshold above ground (see R. Shemaja, *a*; also ת"י"ט on iv, 6). Josephus also makes mention of the foundation, which he traces back to King Solomon (Ant., XV, xi, 3; Wars, V, v, 1). Now let us take it that Josephus (in accordance with the latter of the two theories) considers all the constituent parts of the Temple *above* grounds, but reckons in the necessary 6 cubits of underground foundation to complete his large, round numbers; then the two statements are still closer (nay, almost identical),

as here again to the 6 Mosaic cubits—according to the above solution—as compared with the Greek measure of Josephus, O. 31 cubits, must be added. His omission of the greater part of the superstructure (the golden pikes for scaring birds are all he mentions) does not necessarily *contradict* the Mishna's statement: he puts down his round 100 as the height of the top of the upper nave, but is not thereby of necessity in opposition, *e silentio*, to the other.

Once more must we return to the oft-mentioned subject of the different scales of measures, in order to meet an objection which appears to contradict all our argument, viz., that Josephus gives the same dimension for the length of the Temple (Hechal and Holy of Holies) as the Mishna does; but since, for each cubit, he ought to have had 0·913 inches more (*cf.* Anm. 50), he ought to have allotted over 42 for the Hechal and (over) 21 for the Holy of Holies. But surely we need not be surprised at Josephus's inaccuracy, which has been admitted by all later investigators, especially with respect to figures and measurements, and indeed I do not see any other explanation of the (accordance of the) figure 100 in the Ullam wall; but, as far as the length is concerned, the differences may be adjusted, especially as regards the omission of one cubit in the Holy of Holies; for Josephus only mentions one curtain, a view which has also its supporters from the Mishna. One explanation is that this curtain hung immediately behind the end of the Hechal, and the 20 cubits of the Holy of Holies took their beginning from it; as for the 2 cubits in the Hechal, we must bear in mind that according to all the critics the number 50 for the length of the Ullam is impossible, and must in any case be corrected, so that we may as well have space for the 2 cubits lacking, as for the 11 cubits behind the Holy of Holies.

In conclusion, a few words respecting the way in which the two sources supplement one another, now that the contradictions and errors have been discussed (see note 39). We have—

(*a*) The information from Josephus (Wars, V, v, 5), that the upper storey had no connected apartments (תאים) like those mentioned vi, 3, and that the ornaments at the upper windows reached over them confirms the very probable conjecture in that direction.

(*b*) Size of the vine hanging over the Hechal portal (see note 47).

(*c*) The covering of the roof and the sides with golden plates or white marble.

(*d*) Confirmation of the explanation of כליא ערוב by pikes (or spits) of gold.

(*e*) A new explanation of the epithet "great" applied to the Hechal Gate (*cf.* notes 32, 47).

According to the Antiquities (as last cited), the building of the Temple was performed by 10,000 *priests*, an exclusiveness almost inexplicable, which may perhaps be explained on the grounds of a Boraitha, and may not be without weight in an old controversial question.

Appendix I.

Hecatæus on Jerusalem and the Zerubabel Temple.

We have already mentioned the information quoted by Josephus from the book on the Jews by Hecatæus, a philosopher and historian who flourished under Alexander, and had relations with Ptolomæus I. This quotation contains such interesting matter, besides that which immediately concerns our subject, that it is worth a more thorough perusal. The passage runs thus : The Jews possess many strongholds and cities scattered throughout the whole country, and one fortified town named Jerusalem, 50 stadia in circumference, and inhabited by more then 120,000 people. In the middle of the city is a stone wall (500 cubits long and 100 broad), having double gates. Within this is a four-cornered altar of unhewn white stones joined together : its sides are each 20 cubits, its height is 10 ; moreover, there is a great Temple, in which are an altar and a candelabrum, both made of gold, and weighing two talents : on the latter a light burns, which is never allowed to be extinguished. No consecrated offering, nor statue, nor grove, nor plantation, nor aught of that kind, exists here. The priests are there unceasingly day and night, performing certain expiatory rites, and they are not allowed to drink wine in the Temple.

Appendix II.

Dr. Graetz has published an essay which touches our subject in many ways ; it is called "The Courts and the Gates of the Second Temple." The tendency of this archæological inquiry is in the main critical, whereas ours chiefly seeks to harmonise the authentic sources, and for this reason we have not referred to it before. We will now cursorily review the results of his inquiry, limiting ourselves to those remarks which appear worthy of notice, and leaving out of consideration mere prejudices, *e.g.*, his lordly scorn for the Mishna, and the usual unproven assertion of some passages as "suspicious, improbable, getting results *per fas et per nefas*."

He decides in favour of Josephus as regards the material of the Soreg (*i.e.*, stone, as against the Mishna commentators who pronounce it to have been wood), because (he says) certain expressions used in connection with it (ii, 3) as פרצות and גדר are applied *only* to *stone* walls.

But this use of גדר is certainly not *exclusively* applied to stone walls (though it frequently is so used ; *cf.* Rashi Erubin 49*b*), see Talmud Sabbath 6*a* and Rashi *ibid.* ; it is, moreover, well known that in the enclosure out of which a קרפיף ר"ה"י &c., consists, as indeed for all boundaries brought about by a גדר, the material is quite irrelevant. Indeed the verb formed from it is applied to all materials, even to furniture (*cf.* Mikwaoth v, end), and to this its antithesis פרץ naturally corresponds, of which a direct proof may be obtained (*cf.* Levy, Chal. Dic. s.v). Graetz settles the question of the fourteen and the five steps (according to an emendation

of the text which he has put forward) in such a way that the former were at the entry to the Chêl, the latter—not even mentioned by the Mishna—on the other side at its exit. On this point, however, it is worth observing that in this case the Mishna not only does not mention these five steps, but cannot even have known of them, because according to the exact account it gives of the total ascent (see ii, 4, and Joma 16*a*) these five steps cannot have existed at all. But, moreover, the placing the fourteen steps towards the east side of the Chêl is quite inadmissible according to Graetz's emendation, because then the steps would be not before the "second sanctuary" (Temple Court), but before the Chêl. It is incorrect to say that owing to the four corner-halls of the Women's Court of the area of 135 cubits, only 35 cubits square remained free: for each hall only measured 40 cubits (ii, 5), thus in between there was left a free space 55 cubits long and 40 broad. When Graetz accuses Maim. (and thus indirectly all the commentators who follow him) of "wonderful confusion," because they identify the שער העליון with the Nikanor Gate, though one was at the entry and the other at the exit of the Women's Gate, he himself overlooks that this Nikanor Gate, according to i, 4 (and from that according to all commentators) was situated on the west side of the Women's Court, which (as we have seen above) Josephus also adheres to. Hence the account (Jerus. v) confirming this appears to be not "so erroneous" as Graetz thinks.

ZOAR AND THE DOOMED "CITIES OF THE PLAIN."

I HAVE previously had occasion to object to the validity of certain identifications, in making which the authors ignored the plain requirements of Holy Scripture, and preferred the statements of Josephus or other secular writers.

The publication in your columns of the paper contributed by Mons. Clermont-Ganneau to the "Revue Critique" (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 19), following on the more moderate remarks of Mr. Guy le Strange in the July *Quarterly Statement* of 1885, impels me to protest against the acceptance of the views expressed therein, which seem to me to embody the same principle of setting aside the statements of the Bible, in favour of those of profane authors.

In so doing, I wish to point out that every passage in the Book of Genesis, in which the five cities are referred to, implies that they were situated at the *northern* end of the Dead Sea.

Besides the numerous passages in which they are spoken of as being in the "*ciccar" of Jordan* (an expression of itself quite incompatible with a position south of the Dead Sea), we have the assertion that "Lot journeyed east," an incidental allusion in perfect accordance with the opposite view, but a direction by pursuing which he could never have reached the lower end of the lake.

Then we have further confirmation of this in the narrative of the raid of the Four Kings, who, on reaching El Paran, turn and go to Kadesh, after which they smite "the Amorites that dwelt in Hazezon Tamar" = Engedi = Ain Jidy, about midway up the western side of the Dead Sea.

It is not till after passing Hazezon Tamar, on their northward march, that they reach the Vale of Siddim and join battle with the Kings of the Five Cities who have *gone out* thither against them.

The course of the narrative thus implies that the Vale of Siddim occupied a position between Hazezon Tamar and the Cities of the Plain, which must *à fortiori* be placed north of Ain Jidy.

If I understand his argument, M. Ganneau seems to imply that Zoar received its name from one of Lot's daughters, whereas we are expressly told (Gen. xix, 20–22) that Bela was renamed (the Little one) in regard to Lot's appeal for permission to lodge in it, and it was not till after leaving Zoar that the *elder* daughter (*not* the younger by the bye) became the ancestress of the Moabites.

Hence, even if the name Segor, or Zoghar, be derived in the manner suggested by Mons. Ganneau, proof is quite wanting that Zoghar of the Arabs was identical with the Biblical Zoar.

Further, in claiming the authority of the Onomasticon on his side, M. Ganneau identifies Nimrim, which is there said to be north of Zoar, with N'meira, in the region south-east of the Dead Sea, and exclaims, "Here, then, is a first *solid bench mark*." However, on examination, it will, I think, be found that this bench mark is by no means so immovable as he fancies, for Captain Conder identifies Nimrim with the locality of the present ruin Nimrin east of Jericho, on the opposite side of the Jordan, in which direction also Lasha has been placed (by some writers), which is mentioned in Genesis x, 19, along with the first four cities of the group. As to the Gomorrah twenty leagues south of the Dead Sea, Abraham and Lot must have possessed much more than modern Arab acuteness of vision, to be able to see the *circle of Jordan* extending so far!

I may be allowed to repeat that what I wish to contend against is the *necessary identity* of the city Segor, mentioned by Arab and other geographers, with the Biblical Zoar—in such close proximity with Sodom that Lot had time to reach it in the short twilight of an eastern morning, and whose position along with the other four cities in the *ciccar* of the *Jordan* renders it needful (in accepting such identity) to set aside the plain statements of Holy Writ.

H. B. S. W.

YOMA, OR THE DAY OF ATONEMENT—*continued.*

CHAPTER VIII.

1. On the day of atonement it is forbidden to eat and to drink,[1] and to wash, and to anoint, and to put on the shoes, and *ministrare lectum.* But the king[2] and the bride[3] may wash their faces, and the *puerpera*[4] put on shoes.[5] The words of Rabbi Eliezer :[6] and the wise men forbad.

2. Whoso eats as much as a thick date,[7] together with its kernel, and drinks as much as a cheekful[8] is guilty. All things eaten are added together to make up as much as a date, and all things drunk added together to make up as much as a cheekful. What is eaten and what is drunk are not added together.

3. Whoso ignorantly eats and drinks once is liable for only one sin-

[1] Notwithstanding that eating and drinking are punishable by cutting off, the mishna teaches that they are *asoor*, forbidden [which does not necessarily imply any penalty], because it brings forward also other afflictions, the neglect of which is not punishable by cutting off. And these five afflictions correspond to the five afflictions written in the Law, namely, "a Sabbath of rest" in the section "speak to the priests" [Levit. xxiii, 32], and "a Sabbath of rest" in the section "after the death" [Levit. xvi, 31], and in "on the tenth of the month" in the book of Numbers [xxix, 7], and in "on the tenth day of the month" in the section "speak to the priests" [Levit. xxiii, 27], and in "this shall be a statute for ever unto you" in the section "after the death" [Levit. xvi, 29]. In all of these it is written "you shall afflict." There are also only five afflictions mentioned in the mishna, because eating and drinking are reckoned as one thing.

[2] It is necessary that the king should look beautiful, as it is written (Isaiah xxxiii, 17), "thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty."

[3] She must be beautiful, in order to be agreeable to her husband, and during the whole of thirty days she is called a bride.

[4] חיה, a woman in childbed.

[5] On account of the cold.

[6] Refer to all of these, namely, the king, the bride, and the woman in childbed. The decision was according to Rabbi Eliezer.

[7] A large date, which is less than an egg. And notwithstanding that all the measures of eating are "as much as an olive," this is because it is written in reference to it, אכילה = eating. But here, where it is not written except in reference to [a soul who is] not afflicted, it is explained, that less than as much as a date he does not take notice of, and that he is afflicted. And nevertheless it is established to us that half a measure is forbidden by the law, but that they do not incur cutting off, or beating, except for [a whole] measure.

[8] All that can be put into one side of the mouth so as to make that side visibly prominent is called מלא לוגמיו, a cheekful, and its measure in a man of medium size is less than a quartern.

offering.[9] Whoso eats and does work,[10] is liable for two sin-offerings. Whoso eats food not fit to be eaten, and drinks fluids not fit to be drunk, and who drinks brine, or the oil which exudes from salted fish, is free.

4. They do not afflict boys[11] on the day of atonement, but instruct them,[12] a year before,[13] or two years before, in order that they may become accustomed to the commandments.

5. If a pregnant woman perceives an odour,[14] they give her food until her soul returns to her. To a sick person they give food at the command of two skilled persons,[15] and if there are no skilled persons there,[16] they give food at his own command, until he says "enough."

6. A person seized with an insatiable hunger [בולמוס = *bulimia*][17] they feed, even with unclean things, until his eyes become enlightened. To a person bitten by a mad dog[18] they do not give to eat of the net of its liver,[19] but Rabbi Matthia ben Kharash permitted.[20] And Rabbi Matthia ben Kharash said further, they put medicine[21] into the mouth of a person who

[9] Because eating and drinking proceed from one scripture, and are regarded as one thing.

[10] Eating and doing work proceed from two scriptures, and are regarded as two things.

[11] They are not bound to restrain them from food.

[12] With respect of hours: if he is accustomed to eat at four, they give him food at five or six, according to the strength of the boy.

[13] One year before the time when he ought to begin to fast, if the boy be sickly and weak and cannot sustain fasting, and two years before if the boy be strong. And the period fixed for a girl to begin to fast is when she is twelve years and a day old, because it is not usual to show the signs of maturity before that time, and then she is old enough to be punished. And the time fixed for a boy is when he is thirteen years and a day old, and before that he is not old enough to be punished.

[14] A pregnant woman who smells the smell of cooked food and desires it, and if she does not eat, both she and the child are brought into danger.

[15] Physicians skilled in their art.

[16] This mishna is thus explained in the Gamara: they rely upon the words of the skilled persons when the sick person says food is not necessary or remains silent; but if he says it is necessary there is no need of skilled persons; that is to say, their skill is made no account of, but they give food to the sick person at his own request, and even although the skilled persons should say it is not necessary.

[17] A disease which comes on from hunger and is accompanied by danger of death; when his sight returns it is known that he is healed.

[18] An evil spirit dwells in it, and the signs of it are, its mouth open, its saliva dribbling, its ears drooping, its tail put between its thighs, and it walks at the side of the road. And some say it barks, but its voice is not heard.

[19] Notwithstanding that physicians may be in the habit of using the medicines, it is not so perfect a remedy that it can make lawful an unlawful unclean beast.

[20] Because he thought it a perfect remedy. The decision was not according to R. Mathia ben Kharash.

[21] The root of an herb used as a remedy.

suffers in his throat,[22] on the Sabbath, because his life is in danger, and every danger to life annuls the Sabbath.[23]

7. If a wall fall upon a person and there is a doubt whether he be there or not there, doubt whether he be alive or dead, doubt whether he be an idolator or an Israelite, they open to him the heap,[24] and if they find him alive they open to him,[25] if dead they leave him.[26]

8. A sin-offering and trespass-offering certainly make atonement.[27] Death and the day of atonement make atonement with repentance. Repentance atones for smaller transgressions, whether of affirmative or prohibitive precepts,[28] and the graver transgressions it suspends until the day of atonement comes and atones.

[22] Who suffers in the teeth so that the gums begin to be consumed, and thence the disease proceeds to the palate and throat.

[23] It is said "every" to show that if we are certain that he will not die on that Sabbath, yet there is danger that if it is not done to him on that day he may die on the following Sabbath; and that if it is considered that he ought to drink that medicine for eight days, and the first day is a Sabbath, we might think it right to delay until the evening, so as not to profane two Sabbaths on his account.

[24] They dig into the heap and seek for him, and if they examine him as far as the nostrils, whether from above downwards, or from below upwards, and do not find breath in him; they know that he is dead, and open no farther upon him, as it is written (Gen. vii, 22) "all in whose nostrils was the breath of life."

[25] It is only necessary to say this, because they may see that it is not possible for him to live but for a short time, and then suddenly die, and it teaches that they open to him for the sake of that short period of life.

[26] If dead they do not open upon him. This is to teach us that notwithstanding the words of him who said they may rescue a dead body in case of a conflagration, here it is admitted that they do not open upon him. For in the case of a conflagration they made it lawful to move the dead and carry him out, because if thou dost not permit that, the fire may come and extinguish him, for a man becomes confused in his mind on account of his dead. But here if thou dost not permit him to open the heap, what is there for him to do? For it would be forbidden by the law that one thing should be permitted lest he should do another.

[27] They make atonement with repentance, but the doctor does not mention this because it is certain when a man brings his sin-offering or trespass-offering that he has before repented, for if he is not penitent he would not bring an offering. "A trespass-offering," as the trespass of thefts or the trespass of unfaithfulness in sacred things.

[28] Those negative precepts which can be reduced to affirmative ones are atoned for by penitence; but negative precepts which are punishable by stripes penitence suspends, and the day of atonement expiates them. The conclusion of the matter in the Gamara is, that if from pride he transgress an affirmative Precept or a negative precept which can be reduced to an affirmative one, or by inadvertence a negative precept punishable with stripes, and performs repentance, he does not move thence until they forgive him. And if from pride he transgress a negative precept punishable with stripes, repentance suspends and

9. He who says "I will sin and repent, I will sin and repent,"[29] to him will not be afforded opportunity of repentance.[30] *If he say* "I will sin, and the day of atonement shall expiate," *for him* the day of atonement does not expiate. Transgressions which are between a man and the place [God] the day of atonement expiates. Transgressions which are between a man and his neighbour, the day of atonement does not expiate until he be reconciled to his neighbour. This expounded Rabbi Eleazer ben Azariah (Levit. xvi, 30) "that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord." Transgressions which are between a man and God, the day of atonement expiates, transgressions which are between a man and his neighbour the day of atonement does not expiate until he be reconciled to his neighbour." Rabbi Akibah said "blessed be you Israel! Before whom will you be clean? Who cleanses you? Your Father who is in heaven;" as is said (Ezek. xxxvi, 25), "then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean," and it says (Jer. xiv, 8) מִקְוֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל׳. As מִקְוֶה cleanses the unclean, also the Holy One, blessed be He, cleanses Israel.

the day of atonement expiates. And if by inadvertence he is guilty of a transgression punishable with cutting off, or by death at the hand of the *beth din* the sin-offering atones with repentance; and if he has transgressed in these from pride, repentance and the day of atonement suspend, and scourgings wipe them away. These words are to be understood of one who has not profaned the Name [of God], that is to say, who has not sinned and caused others to sin, but if he has profaned the Name of God, his atonement is not completed till he die. And all this refers to the time when there is no scapegoat; but at the time when there is a scapegoat, the scapegoat atones for all transgressions small and great except transgressions between a man and his neighbour, which are not atoned for until he become reconciled to his neighbour.

[29] Who does this twice.

[30] Inasmuch as he has committed a sin and repeated it, he cannot again separate himself from it, for that would be to him as if it were sanctioned.

TAMID, OR THE CONTINUAL SERVICE.

With the Commentary of Rabbi Obadiah of Bartenora.

CHAPTER I.

1. The priests guarded the Sanctuary in three places,[1] in the house Abtinas, in the house Nitzus, and in the house Moked. The house Abtinas and the house Nitzus were upper rooms,[2] and the boys[3] watched there. The house Moked was vaulted,[4] and it was a large room surrounded by stone benches, and there the elders of the house or the fathers[5] slept, the keys of the court being in their hands. And the young priests[6] *slept* each with his cushion[7] upon the ground.[8] They did not sleep in the sacred garments, but took them off, folded them up, and placed them under their heads,[9] and covered themselves with their own cloaks.[10] If an

[1] This was because of the honour and magnificence of the house, that it should not be without guards. And "three places" were taught from what is written (Numb. iii, 38). "Those that encamp before the tabernacle towards the east," &c. "Keeping the charge . . . for the charge," points to three guards in three places; and as we find that in the tabernacle the priests Aaron and his two sons kept the charge of it in three places, so also the Temple [מקדש].

[2] Built beside gates of the court.

[3] ילדים=רובין, *children, boys*. The translation of ילד, *yeled*, is רביא, *rabea*. Another explanation is that רובין, *robin*, were archers, from the phrase קשת רובה, *an archer* (Gen. xxi, 20).

[4] The house Moked was not an upper room,' but vaulted, "ארקוולט"ן, *arquolto*," in the barbarian tongue. [Ital. *archivalto* or *arcuato*.] It was built upon the ground and surrounded by רובדים, *pavements* of stone, benches or seats of hewn stones sunk in the wall, and projecting from the wall into the house Moked next to the floor, and over these other shorter stones, which also projected from the wall; and they were like steps one above the other.

[5] The watch was divided into seven houses of fathers, according to the number of the days of the week, each one its day, and the elders of the house of the father for that day slept there upon those stone benches.

[6] Young men, the hair of whose beards was beginning to grow; and it was they who watched.

[7] כסת, *kaeseth*, has the signification of כר [a mattress, a cushion on which a person lies, Aruch.], and כסתות [cushions for the head, Aruch.; *cf.* Ezek. xiii, 18].

[8] Because they might not lie there upon beds, but upon the ground, like guards in the courts of kings.

[9] Near to their heads, and properly not under them, because they were of the garments of the priesthood, in which there were diverse kinds of stuff, as in the girdle [*cf.* Levit. xix, 19, and Exod. xxxix, 29], and it was not permitted to make use of them except at the time of the service.

[10] With profane or ordinary garments.

impurity happened to one of them, he went out and passed by the passage[11] that went under the Sanctuary, lamps burning on either side,[12] until he reached the bathing place. And a large fire was there[13] and a privy of honour. And this was its honour,[14] that if he found it shut[15] he knew that some one was there, if open, he knew that no one was there. He descended and bathed, came up and wiped himself,[16] and warmed himself before the fire, and came and sat by his brethren the priests[17] until the gates were opened, when he went out[18] and went his way.

2. Whoever of the priests desired to cleanse the altar[19] rose early and bathed[20] before the prefect came. And at what time did the prefect come?[21] Not always at the same time. Sometimes he came at cock-crow,[22] or near it, either before or after. The overseer came and knocked to them, and they opened to him. He said to them "let him who has bathed come and cast lots.[23] They cast lots, and he to whom the lot fell performed the duty [*lit.*, he was considered worthy who was found worthy].

[11] By the cavern which went under the *birah*, for there was a cavern under the Sanctuary, and all the Sanctuary was called *birah*, as it is written (2 Chron. xxix, 19), "the palace (*birah*) *for* the which I have made provision," and because he was impure (שהיה בעל קרי) he did not go by way of the court but by way of the caverns, because it is a statute with us that the caverns were not sanctified.

[12] In the cavern on either side.

[13] That the priest might warm himself by it after he had bathed.

[14] That one might never enter whilst another person was there.

[15] That was a sign that some one was there, and he did not enter.

[16] Wiped away the water that was upon his flesh.

[17] In the house Moked.

[18] Because a *tibbul youm* (*i.e.*, a person who had bathed in order to be cleansed from an impurity, and whose cleansing was not complete because the sun had not yet gone down, *cf.* Levit. xxii, 67) was sent out of the court, as we are told in Pesachim 67 *b*, כל זב לרבות בעל קרי, *omnis seminifluens includit eum cui casus nocturnus accesserit.*

[19] To take away the ashes.

[20] Because no one, even though clean, might enter the court to perform the service until he had bathed.

[21] That is, what was the time fixed for the coming of the prefect? since it is said *the priest* rose early and bathed before his coming. But evidently there was no time fixed for his coming, because the times when he did come were not always the same, for "sometimes he came at cock-crow," &c., and therefore he who desired to cleanse the altar rose as early as possible. And afterwards the prefect came and knocked to them who were in the house Moked, and they opened to him.

[22] Some explain cock-crow to be the crowing of a cock, others a priest who was accustomed to call every day near daybreak.

[23] All those who had set their hearts upon cleansing the altar bathed before the prefect came, and afterwards they cast lots amongst themselves, and he to whom the lot fell went and cleansed the altar. The manner of casting lots is described in the second chapter of "Yoma."

3. He took the key, and opened the little door,[24] and went from the house Moked into the court, and they went in after him with two lighted torches in their hands, and they were divided into parties, these going by the porch[25] towards the east,[26] and those going by the porch towards the west. They searched and went on until they reached the place (house) of the pancake maker. When both parties reached it they asked "peace?" and they answered "all is peace." They placed the maker of the pancakes to make the pancakes.

4. He to whom the lot fell to cleanse the altar, cleansed the altar. And they said to him "take care that thou touch not the vessel[27] until thou hast hallowed thy hands and feet at the laver." And lo, the censer was placed in the corner,[28] between the incline and the altar on the west of the incline. No one entered with him, and there was no lamp in his hand; but he went by the light of the fire on the altar. They did not see him, and did not hear his voice until they heard the sound of the wood, which Ben Katan[29] made a machine for the laver, and *then* they said "the time is come; he is hallowing his hands and feet at the laver." He took the silver censer and went up to the top of the altar, moved away the coals

[24] A little door which was in the middle of the body of the great door, and through it they went, from the house Moked into the court.

[25] Which was in the court.

[26] Because there were porches surrounding the court within, pillars projecting from the walls of the court, and from the pillars to the walls of the court was a covering above them, and such a construction is called portikin in the barbarian tongue, and from the pillars outwards [*i.e.*, towards the court] there was no covering, and the altar was in the uncovered place. They separated into two parties, in order that they might examine and see that all the vessels of service were in their places in peace. And they went along by the porches which were erected by the side of the northern space, these going in the eastern half and the others going in the western half, until they met at the place where they made the offering of pancakes of the high priest, which was brought every day, one half in the morning, and one half in the evening [Levit. vi, 20]. It was near the gate Nicanor. And there they said one to another, "is it peace?" "All is peace." That is to say, we have found all the vessels in their places [*lit.*, in peace], and not one of them is missing.

[27] The censer, which was a vessel (Numb. iv, 12, "instruments of ministry") of service, because no one was permitted to approach the altar or to undertake any part of the service until he had hallowed [washed] his hands and his feet.

[28] In the angle.

[29] This was the name of a high priest who made a machine for the laver, a revolving wheel, גלגל הסובב, by means of which they immersed the laver in the cistern, in order that the water in it might not become profaned by remaining all night. For everything that had been hallowed by a vessel of service became profaned by remaining all night, and when the laver was immersed in the cistern its water did not become profaned [the cistern not being a vessel of service]. Rambam says that the machine was a vessel surrounding the laver, that was not hallowed by a vessel of service, and there the water was left at night, in order that it should not become hallowed and *then* profaned by remaining all night.

to either side, took from the inner consumed portions,[30] and descended. Having reached the pavement he turned his face towards the north, and advanced about ten cubits along the east side of the incline. He heaped up the coals upon the pavement[31] three handbreadths from the incline, *in* the place where they put the crops of the birds, and the ashes of the inner altar and of the candlestick.

CHAPTER II.

1. When his brethren saw that he[1] came down[2] they ran and came quickly and sanctified their hands and their feet at the laver,[3] took the shovels and the hooks and went up to the top of the altar. The parts *of the sacrifice* and the fat which were not consumed from the evening they removed[4] to the sides of the altar, *and* if the sides could not hold them they arranged them by the circuit on the incline.[5]

2. They commenced putting the ashes[6] upon the apple-shaped heap (תפוח). This was in the middle of the altar, *and* sometimes there were upon it as much as 300 *chor*,[7] and at the feasts they did not remove the ashes from it,[8] because it was an ornament to the altar.[9] Never did a priest neglect to take away the ashes.[10]

[30] The coals which were in the middle of the fire and well consumed, so as to be almost reduced to ashes.

[31] Because it is written ושמו, "and he shall put them" (Levit. vi, 3–10). And it is explained that this means all of them, that they might not be scattered.

[1] He who has removed the ashes from the altar.

[2] From the altar, and put the coals upon the eastern side.

[3] In order to perform the service.

[4] They put them aside. The word has the signification of moving rapidly or tossing, and thus like a goat they removed them, a goat tiring itself by rapid movements and fighting with its horns. As *goats* push one another with their horns, so here they put aside and moved and turned the pieces with the hooks to the sides of the altar.

[5] That is to say upon the incline which was opposite the circuit. [Namely the small incline which ran off on the right of the large one, and by which the priests went to the circuit. It seems more probable that the passage על הכבש בסובב should be understood as indicating that these partially consumed portions of the sacrifices were placed not upon the incline, but on the circuit.]

[6] After they had removed to the sides or to the circuit the pieces and fat which were not consumed they drew the ashes with the shovels which were in their hands and put them up on the תפוח, a great heap of ashes which was in the middle of the altar heaped up and made like an apple.

[7] This is taught in the way of hyperbole, for never were there left upon it three hundred *chor*.

[8] They did not take the ashes out even though there was a great quantity upon the altar.

[9] Because it might be seen that many offerings were upon the altar.

[10] That is to say, whatever might be the quantity of ashes, it was certainly not from neglect on the part of the priests, but as an ornament to show that a great many offerings had been offered upon the altar.

3. They *now* began to carry up the pieces of wood (גיזרין)[11] to arrange the pile *for the fire*. And were all kinds of wood lawful for the pile?[12] Yes, all kinds of wood were lawful for the pile, except the wood of the olive and the vine; but these were ordinarily used, namely, branches[13] of the fig and the walnut, and the oil-tree.[14]

4. He arranged the great pile[15] on the east, and its front[16] was eastward and the inner ends of the pieces of wood touched the תפוח, or central heap of ashes. And between the pieces of wood there was a space in which they set fire to the small wood.[17]

5. They picked out thence[18] nice pieces of fig-wood, to make the second pile for the incense, opposite the south-western corner, distant from the corner four cubits towards the north. *It had* about[19] five seahs of coals and on the Sabbath about eight seahs of coals,[20] because they put there two dishes of frankincense belonging to the shewbread. The pieces and the fat

[11] Two long smooth pieces of wood were put in the middle of the length of the pile, for the text (Levit. vi, 12) "and the priest shall burn wood on it every morning" teaches that two pieces of wood were necessary.

[12] Because it is taught simply that they commenced taking the logs up, and is not explained of what kind of wood the logs were. And it is taught "Yes," that is to say, all are lawful except the wood of the olive and of the vine, which are unlawful on account of the inhabitants of the land of Israel because they bear fruit; and some say the reason is because they quickly become ashes.

[13] Branches of the fig-tree, and only of bad fig-trees which do not produce fruit.

[14] That which produces balsam oil. I have heard that it is the tree called in the Latin tongue *pino*, and in Arabic *Sanawbar* (صنوبر), and although this is a tree yielding food [the seeds are extensively used in Palestine] it is not necessary like the vine and olive. For this reason they did not pronounce it unlawful on account of the inhabitants of the land of Israel as they did the vine and the olive.

[15] Because there was also another pile this one was called the great pile. There were three piles there every day; one, the great pile upon which was burned the daily sacrifice; the second pile smaller than it was called the pile of the incense, because from it they took coals in the censer for the incense, which was burned in the morning and evening; and the third had no other use than to keep up the fire, according to the text (Levit., vi, 12) "and the fire upon the altar shall be burning in it," this third pile was to keep up the fire.

[16] The direction of its face, which was the opening and hollow of the pile, was towards the eastern side of the altar, and the inner ends of the pieces of wood were long enough to touch the central heap of ashes.

[17] Branches and small pieces placed between the larger ones in order to light the fire. אליתא has the meaning of אליה and is connected with the phrase זנבות האודם, "smoking firebrands" (Isaiah vii, 4).

[18] From the place of the wood.

[19] There were in that "pile of the incense" as much as five seahs of coals, because from it they took what was necessary for the incense.

[20] Because more coals were necessary for the two dishes of frankincense of the shewbread [Levit. xxiv, 7] which were burned from Sabbath to Sabbath.

which had not been consumed from the evening they replaced[21] on the pile, set the two piles on fire, and went down and came to the chamber Gazith.[22]

CHAPTER III.

1. The prefect said to them "come and cast lots[1] who shall slaughter,[2] who shall throw[3] *the blood*, who shall take away the ashes from the inner altar,[4] who shall take away the ashes from the candlestick, who shall take up the pieces *of the sacrifice* to the incline, the head and the leg, and the two fore-legs, and the end of the spine,[5] and the leg, the breast[6] and the throat,[7] the sides, the inwards, and the fine flour, and the pancakes, and the wine." They cast lots, and each performed the duty which fell to him.[8]

[21] To be burned there at the side of the great pile.

[22] To cast lots.

[1] The manner of casting lots is explained in the second chapter of *Yoma*.

[2] Notwithstanding that the slaughtering was lawful *even* by a stranger, they appointed for it a lot, because it was the beginning of the service, of the continual sacrifice, and it being a favourite office, if they did not draw lots for it they might fall to quarrelling over it, and come into danger.

[3] The priest who received the blood threw it, and because the essential part of the offering was the throwing of the blood, *therefore* the author of the Mishna mentions it.

[4] The priest who took away the ashes also burnt the incense, and because taking away the ashes was the beginning of the service of incense, the author of the Mishna mentions it. And also the taking the ashes from the candlestick was the beginning of the lighting, and the taking the ashes from the inner altar and from the candlestick was before the slaughtering of the continual *sacrifice*. And in mentioning the order of the lots, the slaughtering, and throwing *of the blood* were first because they were by far the most essential part of the service.

[5] The fat tail, אליה.

[6] All (the fat) which looked towards the ground.

[7] The place where the cud is chewed: it is the neck, and with it were joined the windpipe with the liver and the heart.

[8] He to whom the lot fell threw the blood, and the next to him slaughtered, notwithstanding that the slaughtering preceded the receiving of the blood, yet in consequence of the throwing *of the blood* being of more importance than the slaughtering, because the slaughtering was lawful *if done by* a stranger, which was not the case with the throwing *of the blood*, therefore he to whom the first lot fell was privileged to throw *the blood*, and the second next to him to slaughter: and the third took away the ashes from the inner altar and burned the incense, and the fourth took away the ashes from the candlestick and lit the lamps, and the fifth carried up the head and the leg to the incline, and the sixth the two forelegs, and the seventh the extremity of the spine, which was the fat tail, and the other leg, and the eighth the breast and the throat, and

2. The prefect said to them "go out[9] and see whether the time for slaughtering[10] has arrived." If it had arrived the observer said "it lightens."[11] Mattai, son of Samuel, said "is the whole eastern side become light[12] as far as Hebron?[13] And he answered "yes."

3. He said to them "go out and bring the lamb from the chamber of the lambs."[14] And lo the chamber of the lambs was in the north-western corner. And four chambers were there, one the chamber of the lambs, one the chamber of the seals,[15] one the chamber of the house Moked,[16] and one the chamber in which they made the shewbread.

4. They went into the chamber of the vessels, and brought out thence ninety-three silver and golden vessels.[17] They gave the lamb to drink[18]

the ninth the two sides, and the tenth the inwards, and the eleventh the fine flour of the meat and drink-offerings which was offered with the continual sacrifice, and the twelfth the pancakes of the high priest, and the thirteenth the wine of the drink-offerings. All these thirteen priests had their functions assigned to them by the one lot, as explained in the second chapter of "Yoma."

To a high place which they had in the Sanctuary.

[10] Because the slaughtering was unlawful by night, as is said (Levit. xix, 6) "The day ye offer it."

[11] It becomes light and the morning shines.

[12] That he did not say anything until the eastern side was lightened, because it was not sufficient that the morning had appeared in one point only. The decision is according to Mattai ben Samuel.

[13] Those who stood below asked him, "does the light appear as far as Hebron?" and he answered "Yes;" and they said so to bring to mind the worth of the fathers buried in Hebron.

[14] The chamber in which were the lambs for the continual sacrifices.

[15] For those taking fine flour for the meat-offering and wine for the drink-offerings. They went to the overseer of the seals and gave him money according to the quantity of drink-offerings required, and he gave to him a seal which he took to the overseer of the drink-offerings and received from him the drink-offerings, and that chamber in which the overseer of the seals sat was called the chamber of the seals. And in the treatise "Shekalim" it is explained that there were four seals in the Sanctuary, and upon them written חוטא, גדי, זכר, עגל. If he brought the seal upon which was written עגל, *egel*, the overseer knew that he had paid the money for a drink-offering for a bull; if that with זכר, *zachar*, he knew that he had paid the price for a drink-offering for a ram, because the translation of איל, a ram, is דכרא, *dachra;* if that with גדי, *g'di*, he knew that he had paid the money for a drink-offering for a lamb; if חוטא, *chota*, he knew that he had paid the money for a drink-offering for a leper.

[16] "The chamber of the house of the burning." It was so called because of the large fire which was constantly burning in it.

[17] It is not explained why this number of vessels was necessary. In the Jerusalem Talmud, treatise "Chagigah," they are said to correspond to the ninety-three times the Divine name is mentioned in the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

[18] Near the time of slaughtering, in order that the skin might come off easily.

out of a golden bowl.[19] And although it had been examined in the evening[20] they examined it *again* by the light of the torches.

5. He to whom the lot fell to slaughter the lamb, drew it, and went to the place of slaughterers, and they whose lot it was to take up the pieces to the incline followed him. The place of the slaughterers was to the north[21] of the altar, and upon it were eight little pillars[22] with square pieces of cedar *wood* over them,[23] and iron hooks[24] were fixed to them,[25] three rows[26] to each, by which they suspended *the sacrifices* and skinned them upon the marble tables which were between the pillars.[27]

6. They to whom the lot fell to remove the ashes from the inner altar and the candlestick, went before with four vessels in their hands—the basket,[28] the can,[29] and two keys.[30] The basket resembled a large golden *tarkab*,[31] and held two cabs and a half, and the can resembled a large golden *kithon*. With one of the two keys the *priest* put *his arm through a hole in the door or wall* as far as the armpit,[32] to open the little door, and with the other opened[33] immediately before him.

[19] Some say that this is hyperbole, that it was not in a golden bowl, but in a brass one beautiful as gold. As some say that it was really in a golden bowl, because there could be nothing poor in the place of the rich.

[20] Because it was obligatory to examine the lamb for blemishes four days before it was slaughtered, as in the case of the Passover lamb.

[21] Because the continual sacrifice was a burnt-offering, and a burnt-offering must be on the north.

[22] Low *pillars* of stone.

[23] Square pieces of cedar *wood* were upon the pillars.

[24] A kind of hooks called *uncinus* in the barbarian tongue.

[25] To those pieces of cedar wood, and by them they suspended the beast.

[26] Of hooks one above the other on each piece of wood, to suspend a large or a small beast.

[27] Upon which they washed the inwards. They might be made of gold, because what is poor should not be in the place of the rich, but they made them only of marble, because gold becomes heated and might cause *the flesh* to smell, and the marble was always cold and preserved *the flesh* from smelling.

[28] As in Deuteronomy xxvi, 2. The טנא, or basket, was like a *sal* or basket with a broad mouth.

[29] A kithon, in the Arabic language called *kās*.

[30] To open the two locks which were in the little northern door.

[31] A vessel containing three cabs. The meaning of the word is תרי וקב, two cabs and a cab = three cabs. But though the basket resembled a *tarkab* it contained only two cabs and a half. It was of gold.

[32] The northern little door respecting which we are taught below, "he came to the northern little door," had two locks, one of which was low down inside at the lower part of the door, and the priest desiring to enter put in his arm as far as his armpit through a hole which was in the wall and opened with his hand from inside, and the other he opened at once with the key without trouble like other doors.

[33] כיון. As they made it in the mould and fixed it, כיון, that is, quickly without trouble [Pesach. 37*a*].

7. He came to the northern little door, for there were two little doors to the great gate,[34] one on the north and one on the south. By that on the south no man ever entered, and respecting this it is explained by Ezekiel (xliv, 2), "then said the Lord unto me; this gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter by it; because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered by it, therefore it shall be shut." He took the key and opened the little door, went into the chamber,[35] and from the chamber into the Temple,[36] הֵיכָל, until he reached the great gate: having reached the great gate, he drew aside the bar[37] and the bolts,[38] and opened it. The slaughterer did not slaughter until he heard the sound of the great gate being opened.

8. From Jericho they could hear the sound of the great gate when it was opened;[39] from Jericho they could hear the sound of the Magrefah;[40] from Jericho they could hear the sound of the wood which Ben Katan[41] made a machine for the laver; from Jericho they could hear the voice of Gabinus the crier;[42] from Jericho they could hear the sound of the

[34] This was the gate of the Temple. It had doors at the commencement of the thickness of the wall (which thickness was six cubits), and other doors at the end of the thickness *of the wall* on the inner side. And these two little doors were two small doorways, one on the right of the great gate, and one on its left, רחוק קצת, somewhat distant from the gate. In reference to that on the south the text "it shall be shut, it shall not be opened," refers to the Temple of the future, and doubtless it was so in the "eternal house" [*i.e.*, the second temple]. But the little door in the north he opened by means of the hole which was beside it, putting in his hand as far as the armpit and curving his hand within, and by means of the other lock which was in it which was opened at once without difficulty.

[35] This was a chamber which opened to the Temple.

[36] And went in the interior of the Temple as far as the great gate which was at the end of the thickness of the wall within, and opened it. Then he came to the second gate and stood inside and opened it.

[37] A bar which passed from one end of the door to the other. Another explanation is that it was a bolt which was fixed behind the door in a hole of the door post.

[38] The locks and fastenings.

[39] From Jerusalem to Jericho was ten *parsaoth*.

[40] A kind of musical instrument that was in the Sanctuary. It had ten holes [perhaps pipes], from each of which issued a hundred kinds of sounds, and its sound could be heard at a great distance.

[41] The name of a man. He was a high priest and made a wheel for the laver to sink it in the cistern that its waters should not become profaned from remaining all night. For whatever had been sanctified in a vessel of service became profaned by remaining all night, and by going out, and by tibbul youm, and when they raised this from the cistern to sanctify [wash] at it their hands and their feet, the sound of the wheel was heard as far as Jericho.

[42] A priest whose name was Gabinus, who called out every morning in the Sanctuary, "rise up oh priests to your service!"

pipe ;[43] from Jericho they could hear the sound of the cymbal ;[44] from Jericho they could hear the sound of the song ; from Jericho they could hear the sound of the trumpet ; and some say also the voice of the high priest when he mentioned the Name on the day of atonement. From Jericho they could smell the odour of the mixture for the incense. Rabbi Eleazar ben Diglai said the family of Aba had some goats on Mount Mikvor,[45] and they were set sneezing by the smell of the mixture for the incense.

9. He to whom the lot fell to remove the ashes from the inner altar, entered and took the basket and placed it before him, removed *the ashes* by handfuls and put them into it, and at last[46] swept the remainder into it, put it down,[47] and went out.[48] He to whom the lot fell to remove the ashes from the candlestick, entered, and if he found the two eastern lamps burning,[49] he removed the ashes from the others,[50] and left those burning in

[43] Tsilmitslis [Psalmus ?] in the barbarian tongue, and in Arabic *mazmūr*, a psalm. The sound of it could be heard at a great distance. Some say it was what was called פִּיפְרִי, *piperi*, in the barbarian tongue.

[44] Cymbal in the barbarian tongue.

[45] The name of a place.

[46] When only a small quantity of ashes was left, and he could not take them in his hand, he swept the remainder of the ashes into the basket.

[47] The basket.

[48] But he did not take out the basket immediately, for since it was necessary to put the ashes near the altar on the east, as well as the ashes of the candlestick, they delayed until after the throwing of the blood of the continual sacrifice, when they performed the trimming of the two lamps, and finished removing the ashes of the candlestick, and then they took out, the one the basket, and the other the can, and poured out the ashes in a certain place near the altar ; and they were consumed there in their place.

[49] This doctor thought that the candlestick was placed east and west, and that sometimes the other lamps also were found burning, and understood that the two eastern ones were left burning on account of the others, and that if [the others] were burning they extinguished them and removed their ashes, but if they found these two [eastern] lamps burning, they did not extinguish them. And further, from what is taught at the end [we learn] that if they found those eastern lamps extinguished they lit them again, but if they found the others extinguished they did not light them until the evening.

[50] The five lamps that were on the western side [of the two left burning]. They removed from them the old oil and the old wick and the ashes, and put them all in the can, and supplied fresh oil and a fresh wick ; and after the slaughter of the sacrifice and the sprinkling of its blood, they removed the ashes of the two eastern [lamps] and supplied them with fresh oil and wicks ; so that the trimming *of the lamps* was made to pause by the slaughtering of the sacrifice and the sprinkling of its blood. And they did not trim them all at once because of the Scripture (Exod. xxx, 7) בַּבֹּקֶר בַּבֹּקֶר, " every morning when he dressed the lamps." The law says the trimming was divided to two mornings ; and the work of trimming five lamps was done first, and subsequently the trimming of the other two, because it is right that the great

their place. If he found those eastern lamps extinguished,[51] he removed the ashes from them and lit them from those that were burning, and afterwards removed the ashes from the remainder.[52] There was a stone in front

portion of the work should be done first. And why were not six first trimmed and afterwards one? Because of the Scripture "when he dressed the lamps" [in the plural]. There can be no trimming of lamps if they are less than two. And these words refer to the time when there was no miracle, as after the death of Simeon the Just; but before Simeon the Just died the western lamp burned continually by miracle, as is taught in the Bareitha, "outside the veil of the testimony;" testimony, that is, that the *Shechinah* dwelt with Israel. In this western lamp the priest put as much oil as in its fellows, and from it he began and with it he ended. When he came to trim the two eastern lamps, he did not remove the ashes except from the first only, and he trimmed it and left the second lamp which was next to it burning until the evening when he lighted the lamps, and from it he lighted all the other lamps, and after lighting the other lamps he trimmed and removed the ashes from this lamp in the evening and lit it, and this, notwithstanding the Scripture "when he dressed the lamps," and that there was no trimming of less than two. It was very good so: not to trim more than one of the two eastern lamps, and to leave the second one burning, and not to trim it until the evening, in order to make evident the miracle that it remained burning continually. And that he trimmed the five lamps on the western side first and not the five on the eastern side, and at last the two on the west, and from them lit *the remainder* was for this reason, that it is written [Levit. xxiv, 2, 3], "to cause the lamps to burn continually, without the vail of the testimony shall Aaron order it . . . . before the Lord." The law says that a lamp was fixed from which to light the remainder of the lamps. And which was that lamp? The second lamp on the eastern side, and this was called the western lamp, because a person entering the Temple would come to that lamp first, and they did not transgress the commandment. And some say that it was at this lamp the miracle occurred, and that it was fixed to light the others from, which could not be with the first lamp, because the Scripture says "before the Lord," *i.e.*, from that lamp which was on the side of the Shechinah, which was on the western side, and the first lamp is not called "before the Lord."

[51] The two eastern lamps, as after the death of Simeon the Just. He removed the ashes from them and lit them from those that were found burning. Not that he put fresh wicks and fresh oil, in the ordinary way of dressing the lamps, for never did they dress the two eastern lamps until after the slaying of the lamb, in order that there might be a pause between the dressing of the five and the dressing of the two. But this removal of the ashes was only that he took away the ash from the top of the old wick, pulled it up, and lit it, in order that the interval between the dressing of the five lamps and of the two should be well marked. And if none of the lamps were found burning he lit them from the altar of burnt offering.

[52] This was the dressing of the five lamps, that he put fresh wicks and fresh oil and left them extinguished until the evening, when he came and lit them. And this removal of the ashes was not like the removal of the ashes from the two eastern lamps above spoken of, for after the slaying of the lamb and the

of the candlestick,[53] with three steps in it,[54] upon which the priest stood and trimmed the lamps. He then left the can on the second step, and went out.[55]

sprinkling of its blood he returned and took the ashes from those eastern lamps and supplied them with oil and fresh wicks and left them extinguished until the evening. And from the second lamp which was called "western" he in like manner removed the ashes, and took away the old oil and wick, adding fresh oil and lighting it from the altar of burnt offering in order to light from it in the evening the other lamps, for the "western" lamp was appointed for the other lamps to be lit from it, and therefore they lit it (if they found it extinguished) before the slaying of the lamb, since it was necessary to light from when he came to dress *the lamps* after the sacrifice . . . . Thus I find this Mishma explained in the commentaries of our master Baruch bar Isaak, which is the most perspicuous of all the explanations. And the words of Rambam upon this Mishna surprise me extremely, and especially his opinion that the dressing, טבת, of the lamps was the same as the lighting of them, and that they lit all the lamps of the candlestick in the morning as they did in the evening. To me this seems strangely incomprehensible, and I never heard or understood that any of my masters thought so.

[53] Because the candlestick was eighteen hand-breadths in height, and it was necessary to ascend a high place in order to dress the lamps.

[54] Corresponding to the three עלאות which are written of the candlestick, viz., בהעלותך את הנרות [Numbers viii, 2], העלה את נרותיה [Exodus xxv, 37], and להעלות נר התמיד [Levit. xxiv, 2].

[55] Until after the sprinkling of the blood of the lamb, when he performed the trimming of the lamps and took it out; and also his companion took out the basket, and as they went out they did obeisance at the completion of this service, but not now, because they had not yet completed their service.

(*To be continued.*)